

YERUKALA DIALECT

Dr. G. SRINIVASA VARMA



ANNAMALAI UNIVERSITY
ANNAMALAINAGAR

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Foreword

The Centre of Advanced Study in Linguistics has been engaged in a Dialect Survey of Tamilnadu. This study is important as it reveals the similarities and dissimilarities of the speech varieties of different regional, religious and social groups. There are a number of dialects spoken by tribal people. Several dialects of Tamil, Malayalam, Kannada and Telugu have been analysed by the members of the staff and research scholars of this Centre. The present book *YERUKALA DIALECT* by Dr. G. Srinivasa Varma is a part of this project and the dialect analysed in this study is spoken by the Yerukala tribe in Tamilnadu and also in the neighbouring Andhrapradesh. This is the tenth book in the series on Dialect Studies and this is to be followed by several other monographs on dialect studies prepared by the members of the staff and the research scholars.

The aim of this project is to unearth the peculiar features of different dialects of Tamil, Malayalam, Telugu and Kannada spoken in Tamilnadu. These informations are useful to the Historical and Comparative Linguistics to study the pattern of changes that are prevalent in different dialects. This will also be useful to the scholars who work on the Historical grammar of Tamil.

In the present study many interesting features peculiar to Yerukala dialect have been identified and given by the author. He has done this work in spite of many limitations. Like other studies in this series, this will also be useful to Dialectologists in general and Tamilologists in particular.

Annamalainagar,
21st August 1978.

S. AGESTHIALINGOM
DIRECTOR,
Centre of Advanced Study in Linguistics.

Acknowledgement

This study is based on the dialect survey work carried by me during 1967-68 and also 1974-75 as part of the 'Dialect Survey Project' undertaken by the Centre of Advanced Study in Linguistics, Annamalai University.

I owe a debt of deep sense of sincere gratitude and greatfulness to my respected Professor S. Agesthalingom, Head of the Department of Linguistics and Director, Centre of Advanced Study in Linguistics, Annamalai University, for his constructive suggestions, invaluable and stimulating guidance, immense encouragement and personal care which enabled me to complete this work and also for his kindness in including this work in the publication series of the Centre of Advanced Study in Linguistics, Annamalai University.

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My thanks are due to the authorities of the Annamalai University for including this work in the publication series of the Department of Linguistics and to the University Grants Commission for their liberal grants for the Publication of this book. I also thank M. s. Senthilvel Binding Works for printing this work.

G. Srinivasa Varma

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Introduction

I

YERUKALA: The people

The Yerukalas are the plains living tribal people in the states of Andhra Pradesh, Tamilnadu and Karnataka. They live predominantly in Andhrapradesh, especially in the districts of Guntur and Nellore. According to the 1961 Census of India Yerukalas are about 75,000. But the latest figures available to us indicate that they are 1,28,024 in Andhrapradesh alone. The total figures will come about two lakhs if the figures available in Karnataka and Tamilnadu are reliable. Yerukala is a large homogeneous ethnic group. One can come across separate settlements of Yerukalas, a little away from main villages. In spite of their long co-existence with the rural populations, this group retained its ethnic and cultural identity. They are vagrant or semi-nomadic in nature, contrary to their sister tribe Yanadis in the same area and maintain themselves as a homogenous group with linguistic oneness.

Edgar Thurston says, "the name of this tribe comes from their profession of 'fortune telling' YERUKO AMMA YERUKU; that is prophecies mother! prophecies.! In Tamilnadu they are known as Koravas. Koravas have usually been traced as being the

same as the Yerukalas. Both castes are wandering gypsies, both live by basket making and fortune telling, both speak corrupt Tamil and both may have sprung one original stock.”¹

Now adays Yerukalas have heterogenous occupations. But for Telugu people throughout the country the Yerukala women are known only as sooth-sayers. In fact the tribe derives its name from its traditional occupation of sooth-saying. *Yeruku* comes from the Tamil word *aṟital* which means ‘knowing.’ These people are also known as KORCHA in Karnataka and as KAIKADI in the river Narbada regions of Maharashtra. Dr. Aiyappan says, “this tribe is called KORACHA and YERUKALA in the Telugu districts. In the Tamil districts these people are called KORAVA. The Kuravar or Kunravar is the name by which the Kurunilam folk or hill people were called. The Koravar tradition connects them with Muruga, the Tamil Hero-god, through Valli, a Korava girl whom he married.”² The Yerukalas call themselves as *kurru*³ and their language as *kurruva : tta* ‘*kurrus*’ speech. *Kurru* is the shortened form of *kunru* which means hill in Tamil. The people who live on the hill is known as *kunravar* or *kuravar*. So, it is no doubt that *kurru* are hill people and of indigenous stock of this land. They are inter-state nomads in view of their peregrinations carrying

1 Edgar Thurston, 1909 *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*. Vol. III. pp. 441

2 Aiyappan, A. 1948. *Report on the Socio-Economic conditions of the Aboriginal tribes of the Province of Madras*. p. 161.

3 Srinivasa Varma, G. 1969. “Phonology of Yerukala,” *Dravidian Linguistics*. Annamalainagar.

that traditional trade in what nature provides such as tamarind salt, curryleaf and pulses. They carried the merchandise on donkeys and pack-bullocks to far away villages all over the Telugu speaking country. They also moved even to the extent of neighbouring states like Maharashtra in north and Mysore in the west.

There are numerous functional subdivisions among them and each sub-division was named after the commodity they traded in and the occupation they adopted. The heterogeneity of their occupations reveals their occupational as well as spatial mobility. This tribe is divided into sixteen occupational groups and each is named after its specialised traditional occupation. They are as follows:

- | | |
|--------------------------------|---|
| 1. <i>muccu kurru</i> | Sooth sayers |
| 2. <i>o:rankurru</i> | Village Yerukalas as agricultural labourers. They rear pigs, fowls and also occasionally indulge in fishing |
| 3. <i>na: dutirra kurru</i> | Wandering Yerukalas |
| 4. <i>dabbala:ya kurru</i> | Bamboo basketry |
| 5. <i>i: tta pullala kurru</i> | Wild-date basketry |
| 6. <i>kuncu kurru</i> | Brush makers for the weaving community |
| 7. <i>uppu kurru</i> | Salt sellers on the bank of donkey |
| 8. <i>eddu kurru</i> | Carriers of merchandise on bullocks |
| 9. <i>karivepa:ku kurru</i> | Curry leaf sellers |
| 10. <i>ka:va:li kurru</i> | Watchman for the landlords |

11. <i>nara kurru</i>	Rope makers
12. <i>parimukala kurru</i>	Story tellers
13. <i>ko:nti kurru</i>	Yerukalas who display monkey on the street and entertain people
14. <i>pa:my kurru</i>	Snake charmers
15. <i>ka:jar:ri kurru</i>	Acrobats
16. <i>ku:t kurru</i>	Tattooing

At present Yerukalas are adopting the occupation of basket-making with split bamboos and date twigs. Very few Yerukalas also thrive on making brushes used by the plain weavers. Some of the Yerukalas make use of a trap called *pu:ne marom* with which they catch cats, mongooses and field rats. They are also excellent hunters and snare antelope, partridges, duck, quail and other game with great skill.

Each sub-tribe is divided into four exogamous divisions known as gotras. They are: (i) *sa:ttupa:di* (ii) *ka:va:di* (iii) *me:napa:di* and (iv) *me:ndragutti*. These gotras are based on their assigned duties in their social milieu.

Sa:ttupa:di is one who adorns a Hindu deity with flowers, jewels and vestments. *ka:va:di* or *ka:va:dru* is one who carries a pole on the shoulder with two baskets pendants from its ends in which are contained offerings for a deity or temple. *Me:napa:di* is one who sings inpraise of god when he is worshipped in a temple. *Me:ndragutti* is one who stitches a pair of shoes and presents them to a temple.

These four gotras constitute two social groups, one the higher and the other lower. *Sa : ttupa : ði*, *me : napa : ði* and *me : nðragutti* are the higher group, *po : ttukolom* while *ka : va : ði* the lonely gotra forms the lower group, *ki : ttukolom*. Each of these clans is divided into a number of house names '*iñtipe : ru*'. Some of them are as follows :

nalakuñt (a) ða : ya :

bañðiya : ya :

da : sræ : ya :

sacca : ða : ya :

dobra : ya :

de : vra : ya :

ucci pe : ra : ya :

so : la guñta : ya :

navru guñta : ya :

pe : ri guñta : ya :

mo : tti guñta : ya :

Caste panchayat

The Yerukalas have an autonomous panchayat system. The panchayat which means 'five person's rule' is strictly followed even to-day by Yerukalas. Five elders of the tribe who are called '*perümanūsom*', big people or elders form the council which is the supreme authority having all the powers to enforce tribal discipline.

The jurisdiction of panchayat encompasses all spheres and its decision is final and irrevocable. The meetings of the panchayat held at a common place called *va : kkustalam* 'the place where one tells the truth and justice prevails'. The society

of this primitive people is very compact and its cohesion and solidarity is chiefly maintained by the unwritten law. Its functioning in a systematic manner is expected by every individual of the society. Any act that carries the disruption of the society is denounced by every individual of the community. This primitive law imposes rigid principles and it functions without any malice and nepotism. All the individuals respect their unwritten law. The leader or a group of leaders function their roles effectively to do justice and loyal to the next fellow-men and maintain the solidarity of their community and strengthen the confidence of the community people as a whole. Whatever the sept, the Yerukalaman may be born in, he has to subordinate himself to the will of the elders or leaders of his own clan. Each village has its own panchayat. But inter-village disputes cannot be settled by this village level kulapanchayat. A new panchayat is formed by selecting elders from distant villages who could not be influenced by any foul-means. These elders are paid a sort of honorarium to meet their incidental expenditure which is borne by both the parties.

The kulapanchayat administers justice by ordeals. Usually the cases pertaining to theft of properties, non-payment of loans, adultery etc. would be tried by test of ordeals in the presence of the members of both parties. The accused is asked to prove his innocence by undergoing ordeals. According to the nature of the crime the accused will be asked to undergo one of the following ordeals, lifting a red-hot crowbar from fire, or picking pebbles from boiling oil or walk on fire without being burnt, carrying a pot filled with water to its brim without spilling a drop.

At *Va:kkustalam* all the people gather at the appointed time. The alleged culprit and his people usually sit at the left side and the aggrieved party on the right side while the elders sit in between the two parties on an elevated place. The elders secretly decide the type of ordeal to test the guilt of the culprit. If the man underwent the prescribed ordeal in the presence of all the people successfully without being hurt, the opponent would be made defaulter and punished by the kulapanchayat. Apart from solving disputes regarding theft and disputes, the panchayat of the Yerukalas is also competent to maintain the morale of the community by checking the behaviour of the individual man in the society. Every individual requires the recognition of his community. In any case the Yerukala man fails to fulfil the norms of the society he will not flourish as a member of his society and his membership will be ceased. The unwritten laws of the society are very rigid and drastic and every member of the community is controlled and governed by the laws. Any violation of these laws, the individual is dealt with severely. Any sexual intercourse between consanguineous kinds and members of the same clan is considered to be a social stigma. Incest relations are punished by excommunication. The excommunicated should arrange for a punitive feast for the community and the high caste man should inter-dine with them. He admits the offender by putting tilak on his fore-head. The *perümanūsom* would touch with a burnt gold ring on the tongue of the defaulter and allow him into the community. Then the community people of the village enjoy the feast arranged by the defaulting clan members. Chicken, pork, toddy and rice are the compulsory items at the feast. Divorce

is also granted after hearing from both the parties. The children, if they are grown ups, can have their independence, otherwise should stay with the father. The process of securing subsequent wife is known as *RANKI* in *kolava : ita*. It is interesting to note that the Vaagri tribe also name such marriage as *nav ranki baja : vnu* - 'procure a virgin as wife'.¹ If any woman is caught red-handed when she is involved in adultery, the husband will report to the kulapanchayat against the man. The elders would enquire into the matter at the *va : kkustalam*. If the complainant is willing to keep his wife with him even after she has committed adultery and the wife is too willing to stay with him, the culprit is to pay a fine of Rs. 50/- to the panchayat. On the other hand, if the woman is willing to go and stay with the accused and if she does not want to stay with her married husband, the panchayat immediately ask the culprit to pay all the expenses of the marriage with the aggrieved person incurred. In addition to this amount, the culprit also pays a fine of Rs. 50/- to the panchayat. This money will be utilised for the community feast. Then the woman must be given a new saree and bodice bangles and vermilion in the presence of the elders. She becomes the lawful wife of the man who has paid the fines and remarried her in the presence of the elders. The former husband cannot claim her again to be his wife.

Puberty

Puberty is a happy occasion to the tribals. If the girl attains puberty, this news is sent to her maternal uncle. He builds a new hut where the girl sits for five days and observes pollution.

¹ Srinivasa Varma, G. 1970 *Vaagiboli—An Indo Aryah Language*. Annamalaiagar.

Elderly woman take her to a nearby stream or a river to bathe her daily. Her uncle gives new clothes, comb, mirror, flower, kumkum, turmeric, betal leaves and nuts, bangles etc. to the girl and also arranges for a feast to her. Sweets are distributed to celebrate the occasion. Then her close relatives in turn give her feasts. The fifth day the girl is invited into the house after the ceremonial bath, which removes the pollution. When the girl enters into the house, married woman conduct her by taking her arms in their hands. The courtyard and threshold of the house are adorned with flowers and flower designs.

Marriage

The marital relations are regulated by the 'gotras.' Among Yerukalas eventhough patrilocal residence is common, matrilocal residence is also in vogue in certain sects. Avunculocal residence and Avuncupotestality are unique features of the Yerukala social organization. Maternal uncle plays a dominant role in the marriage. The maternal uncle is entitled for a share in the bride-price of his niece. Only after the receipt of his share in the bride-price, the maternal uncle declares by plucking a *neredu* twig from *Avereni-kunda* that the marriage is solemnized. He has a right to claim two of his sister's daughters to be married to his sons or anybody he likes and collect bride-price so as to redeem the *puṭṭinta ruka*, he paid to his sister at the time of her marriage. If a woman fails to beget a daughter, she has to go her brothers and pay them a sum of rupees twenty five to compensate them for the bride-price.

The parents of the bride-room approach the parents of the bride and ask for the girl for marital alliance. The term they use *se:ndugom* is very significant in the sense that the bride-groom likes to live with the bride as man and woman in that society. The parents also promise that they will look after the girl as if their own daughter. On that day if both the parties agree, bride-groom's party gives four *ma:da* that is eight rupees as bride-price

This amount is only a formal one while in practice they demand upto fifteen hundred rupees. Every meeting is followed by profuse drinking party at the expense of bride-groom or his parents. They fix a suitable day for the marriage, usually the day next to a local weekly market-shandy. Marriage is celebrated at the bride's residence. They buy new clothes and essentials to celebrate the marriage and feasts. At the time of the marriage the bride and groom are dressed in new clothes and brought before the elders. Turmeric water is sprinkled by the groom over the head of the bride. She also repeats this act and call it as *nalangu*. Black beads interwoven with gold ornaments in a rope is tied around the neck of the bride by the groom. While tying the *botu* or *ta:li* the bride-groom places his right toe over the left toe of the bride. Elders throw rice and bless the couple. The couple go around the holy tree erected at the marriage pandal while the saree end and the upper garment of the groom are tied into a knot and the little fingers of the couple entangled.

This is followed by a ritual depicting their family life will be enacted before the assembled relatives. Bride-groom takes a baby from the assembled and give it to his new wife and asks her

to look-after the child and goes away to fetch date twigs for basket weaving. After a few minutes he comes back to her. Now, the bride gives the child to her husband and says that she wants to go to her mother's house. Everyone bursts with laughter and enjoys the mock-quarrel of the newly wedded. The marriage concludes with a stumptous feast where pork, chicken, toddy and arrack form a major part of the dinner. In an auspicious time the bridegroom takes his wife to his village and introduces her to his household.

Child birth

The first child birth takes place at her husband's house. The news is conveyed to her brother, who comes with a knife *kolli* and cuts the umbilical cord of the child. Then all the women who helped the labour return their home and take bath. The woman who delivered the baby observes pollution for three days. No food is given to the mother. Then another six days are observed as pollution. The ninth day the child and mo her are given a ceremonial bath usually in hot water, and invited to join the family. The maternal uncle of the child takes the major role in removing the pollution by offering new saree and clothes to the mother of the child in return gives a very good feast to his brother-in-law and close relatives. He cuts two fowls and four pots of rice is cooked in honour of the uncle. Turmeric water with neem leaves will be sprinkled on the head of the mother and child to remove the pollution while they are invited into the household. Naming of the child is also done on the same day. The name of their family deity is usually given as the name of the girl child while the boy child gets hero's name. The child is seated on its grandmother's

lap and she has the honour of giving the name to the child. The tradition demands that the hair of the child should be offered at the temple according to their vow taken at the time of the delivery. In this way the family visits many temples and worship year after year.

Death Ceremony :

Yerukalas still follow the age old method of burying their dead. They take the dead body in a bier with new clothes. They lower the body in the grave and everyone puts a handful of earth over the corpse. They go to a river or stream and take bath immersing their head and return home. The next day, the eldest son of the deceased takes milk to the grave yard and pours over the grave. He observes mourning for nine days. On the ninth day, the last-rites are conducted elaborately. All the relatives are invited. There will be a large scale cooking for that occasion. The eldest son takes the cooked rice and other edibles on a large plate and proceeds to the grave. He is accompanied by male relatives. The food is offered to crows. If crows come and partake in large number it is considered as a good omen through which the dead is satisfied. Then they go to a river and take three dips. They visit a temple and go around the temple three times. The eldest son hits his fore head on the ground three times and falls flat on the ground and says his prayer. Then his uncle takes him to a toddy shop and pours some toddy over his hand. It drips on the ground for some time. They drink to their heart content and return home. They should not turn back and see the grave-yard while returning. It is considered to bring back the evil spirit to the family. The guests and relatives have a good feast.

The drum players and horn blowers also get their meals in addition to their wages in kind and cash. The horn blowers are said to be people who bring bad luck if they visited the house. So, they were asked to go away through the back yard without formal partaking leave from the host. The death ceremony ends with this feast. Mourning is concluded on the last day of the ceremony.

II

Language:

Yerukala is one of the non-literary Dravidian dialects. Gait in his article "Census of India 1891" gave the following notes on Yerukala: 'Three dialects of Tamil are shown viz. Yerukala or Korava, Irula and Kasuva, but Tamil has in addition several distinct provincial varieties. These are peculiar to localities and are not the languages of particular tribes or castes; and as they are called Tamil, they do not appear separately in the returns.'¹ G. A. Grierson also has classified it as a dialect of Tamil.² C. V. Gurreddy and D. N. S. Bhat are of the opinion individually that Yerukala is a language and not a dialect of Tamil.³ But the present author is of the opinion that Yerukala is a dialect of Tamil with a difference from other Tamil dialects. Yerukala differs to a greater extent in phonology and to a certain extent in grammar viz. at the morphological and syntactical levels.

1. Census of India, Vol. I part xi-c(i) page 372, 1961.

2. G. A. Grierson, 1914. *Linguistic Survey of India*. Vol. IV.

3. Venkataram Gurreddy, C. 1968. "The Erukala Language" *The Linguistic Survey Bulletin* No. 4.

Bhat, D. N. S. 1968 "The Koraga Language" L.S.B. No. 4.

Phonology:

Yerukala vowels have a different correspondences with the Tamil vowels apart from their regular correspondences. Historically also they are traced from two different sources for a single vowel. Some of the significant changes are listed below :

* *a* > *o* in Yerukala in the initial syllable in a few lexical items. At present their phonological environment are unpredictable with the available data.

eg. Ta. *'pattu* > *pottu* ten

* *a* > *e*¹

eg. Ta. *pallu* > *peilū* tooth
kaluttu > *kegom* neck
tampi > *tembi* younger brother
marumakar > *merumakan* son-in-law
muyir > *meyinū* hair

* *e* > *o*

eg. Ta. *eṭṭu* > *oṭṭu* eight
vellai > *olla* white

* *i* > *e* > *o* eg. Ta. *nilal* > *noga* shade

* *e* : > *o* : eg. Ta. *e:lu* > *o:gū* seven

* *o* > *u/o* eg. Ta. *oṇṭu* > *undū* one

In phonology another major change in Yerukala has undergone is the change of *PDr. *l* into *g, g/r, y* and loss in a few lexical items. *l* > *y* correspondence is more frequent one when compared to other changes. In the following illustrations numbers within brackets refer to the DED entries unless otherwise indicated.

¹ In Muduva tribal dialect of Tamil also, we can find this change *a* > *e* in most of the occurrences. cf. Sakthivel, S. 1978. *Muduva dialect*, Annamalai University.

* PDr. *l* > *g*

Yerukala

<i>agu</i>	weep	Ta. <i>a<u>l</u>u</i>	(240)
<i>agise : la</i>	invite	Ta. <i>a<u>l</u>ai</i>	(240)
<i>igu</i>	to pull	Ta. <i>i<u>l</u>u</i>	(427)
<i>kegom</i>	neck	Ta. <i>ka<u>l</u>uttu</i>	(1151)
<i>ti : gili</i>	below	Ta. <i>ta : <u>l</u></i>	(2597)
<i>to : gü</i>	to crawl	Ta. <i>ta<u>l</u>aval</i>	(2535)
<i>naga</i>	shade	Ta. <i>ni<u>l</u>al</i>	(3046)
<i>pagudu</i>	sun	Ta. <i>po<u>l</u>utu</i>	(3724)
<i>Pa : gom</i>	fruit	Ta. <i>pa<u>l</u>am</i>	(3299)
<i>maya</i>	rain	Ta. <i>ma<u>l</u>ai</i>	(3893)

* *l* > *r*

<i>kerüvu</i>	child	Ta. <i>ku<u>l</u>antai</i>	(1787)
<i>mo : ru</i>	cubit	Ta. <i>mu<u>l</u>am</i>	(4093)

* *l* > *y* 2

<i>ko : yi</i>	hen	Ta. <i>ko : <u>l</u>i</i>	(1862)
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* *l* > zero

<i>keyvu</i>	wash	Ta. <i>ka<u>l</u>uvu</i>	(1154)
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ke : mba old woman

ke : pa : vi oldman

ke : pa : yi may be connected to the spoken Tamil form

kelappaye 'old man' non-honourific form.

PDr. *l* has a correspondence *d* in numerals which may be due to borrowing from Telugu language.

dabbav seventy Te. *debbhai/dabbhai* (772)

2 This type of change occurs mostly in the Northern Tamil dialects.

kiḷavan > *keyvan* old man

kaḷutai > *kayte* ass

—G. Srinivasa Varma & S. Sakthivel, "Tamil Dialects"
Indian Journal of Linguistics Vol. III 1976.

Initial *p* of Yerukala in the word *po*: 'to go' varies freely with *k* and at times with zero.

pu: ~ *ko*: ~ *o*: to go

Intervocally -*t*- is lost in one word *i:pu* 'hip' corresponding to the Tamil word *iṭuppu*. The loss is compensated by the prologation of the preceding vowel.

* *v* > *m*- in the word *ma:na* don't want in Yerukala. The corresponding form in Tamil is *ve:ṇṭa:m*. *m/v* alteration is found elsewhere in this dialect. For example *Ta. mi:sai* has the shape *vi:se* varying with *mi:ṣḍ* also.

Grammar :

Present tense has only one finite form for all number, gender and person. It means the conjugated present finite has no markers to denote either person or number or gender. One of the future tense marker in Yerukala is -*mb-*. So far, this is not attested anywhere in the other Tamil dialects.

The genitive case markers also -*ṭṭu* and -*neṭ-nas* are not attested in any of the Tamil dialects. In Telugu -*na*: one of the allomorphs of the genitive case occurs after the noun *na:r* village (*na:r-t-na*: > *na:ṭna*: of the village).

-*ṭṭu* can be traced to the form -*ma:ṭṭu* 'with' in Tamil.

eg. <i>atte-ne</i>	of the aunt
<i>atte-nas</i>	of the aunt
<i>na:-ṭṭu</i>	my
<i>ne:ṭṭu</i>	your

Pronouns in the third person distinguish only number and not gender. And also there is no concord in the present tense.

1 PHONOLOGY

1 Phonemic Inventory.

1. 1. PHONEMES

There are thirty-one segmental phonemes in Yerukala speech of which eleven are vowels and twenty are consonants.

1. 1. 1. Vowels

The vowels show contrast in the vertical axis as high, mid and low; and in the horizontal axis as front, back and central. There are six short vowels and five long vowels whereas the high central unrounded vowel has no contrast with the respective long vowel as a phoneme. Therefore there is only a short vowel as phoneme in that position. Nasalization of vowel is phonemic and it has been treated as a suprasegmental feature which co-occurs with oral vowels.

	Front	Central	Back
High	i i:	ü	u u
Mid	e e:		o o:
Low		a a:	

Nasalisation (̃v)

1. 1. 2. Consonants

There are twenty consonants in Yerukala. There is voiced and voiceless contrast in stops only.

	Labial	Dental	Alveolar	Retro-flex	Palatal	Velar
Stops	<i>p b</i>	<i>t d</i>		<i>ʈ ɖ</i>	<i>c ɟ</i>	<i>k ɡ</i>
Nasals	<i>m</i>		<i>n</i>	<i>ɳ</i>		
Sibilants			<i>s</i>	<i>ʂ</i>		
Tap			<i>r</i>			
Laterals			<i>l</i>	<i>ɭ</i>		
Semivowels	<i>ʋ</i>				<i>y</i>	

1. 1. 3. Suprasegmental phonemes

There is only one suprasegmental phoneme viz. Nasalization

of vowels (̃v)

Nasalization is a simultaneous feature when it is marked by the symbol ~ over the vowel symbol.

Eg.

<i>pedũ</i>	lips
<i>pãĩsõ</i>	smooth
<i>ba : lyõ</i>	child
<i>ã : vru</i>	male
<i>goĩ õ</i>	back
<i>bo : ttukolõ</i>	high caste
<i>ke : payõ</i>	old man
<i>õd ãvom</i>	body

1. 2. CONTRASTS

1. 2. 1. Vowels

<i>/i i :/</i>	<i>ipo :</i>	now
	<i>i : pu</i>	hip
	<i>igu</i>	hereafter
	<i>i : gu</i>	feather
	<i>pisigi</i>	sparrow
	<i>pi : skunju</i>	date leaf

* Suprasegmental features other than those described here have not been considered in this analysis.

/e e:/	<i>eni</i>	rat
	<i>e : niga</i>	elephant
	<i>eraka</i>	finger
	<i>e : ri</i>	pond
	<i>pekla : ku</i>	catch
	<i>pe : ka</i>	intestine
/a a:/	<i>aravom</i>	Tamil
	<i>a : ru</i>	river
	<i>naḍa</i>	walk
	<i>na : ḍu</i>	country
/o o:/	<i>ole</i>	to grow
	<i>o : li</i>	bride price
	<i>okki</i>	kick
	<i>o : kka</i>	rib
	<i>koluse</i>	worship
	<i>ko : lu</i>	sticks
	<i>goragu</i>	to shave
	<i>go : ru</i>	nail
	<i>tuma : la :</i>	towel
	<i>tu : mulu</i>	a measure
/i i/	<i>maṇuṣon</i>	man
	<i>ma : nuṣe</i>	want
	<i>madigi</i>	Madaga
	<i>ko : lū</i>	stick
	<i>kolli</i>	knife
	<i>kallu</i>	toddy

/i e a o u/	ippu	now
	uppu	salt
	ettu	take
	atte	aunt
	ottu	to wash
	tippu	turn
	tappu	wrong
	teppiki	gruel
	tub̥i	shawl
	tombay	granary

1. 2. 2. Consonants

/p b/	paṭṭe	bark
	baṭṭe	cloth
	gampa	basket
	tembi	younger brother
/p b v/	barri	buffalo
	parri	pig
	varri	coming
/t d/	tu : mulu	baskets
	du : vimba	comb
	e : ttu	whose
	e : du	which
/t̥ d̥/	ṭenga : ya	coconut
	ḍabbay	seventy
	a : ia	play
	a : ḍa	goat
	ottu	eight
	aḍḍa : ru	all people

[c j]	<i>coguru</i> <i>oguru</i>	to smoothen a play
[c s]	<i>ca : ppa</i> <i>sa : na</i> <i>ka : su</i> <i>kalcindu</i>	mat enough brew having mixed
[k g]	<i>iku</i> <i>ihu</i>	still to drag
[s ʃ]	<i>nosulu</i> <i>manuṣṣ</i>	forehead man
[r l]	<i>regom</i> <i>lekka</i> <i>orugu</i> <i>olukku</i>	blood account stomach lamp
[l i]	<i>illa</i> <i>alla</i> <i>Pelluga</i> <i>mul lu</i>	not to weave teeth thorn
[m n]	<i>ma : du</i> <i>na : du</i> <i>māngalna : yi</i> <i>nānga</i> <i>amma</i> <i>annav</i>	'cattle' 'country' barber sister-in-law mother elder brother

/m n/	<i>telimadu</i>	don't know
	<i>paṇi</i>	work
	<i>namme</i>	we (inclusive)
	<i>kaṇṇa: lom</i>	marriage
/n ɳ/	<i>kannu</i>	eye
	<i>kaṇṇa: lom</i>	marriage
/o y/	<i>vage: ru</i>	dawn
	<i>ya: ba: rom</i>	business
	<i>ru: va: nka</i>	wool
	<i>ra: yi</i>	to write

1. 3. Allophonic Distribution

1. 3. 1. Vowels

/i/ [i] is a front high unrounded short vocoid.
 It occurs in all positions.
 [i] *rdi* twenty
 i [i] *rra* wandering
 va: s [i] to converse

/i:/ [i:] is a front high unrounded long vocid.
 It occurs in all positions.
 [i:] *pu* hip, s [i:] *gili:* bellow
 k [i:] hand.

/e/ [e] is a front mid unrounded short vocoid.
 It occurs in all positions.
 [e] *dirommu* chest,
 h [e] *ru* small, tal [e] head

- / e : / [e :] is a front mid unrounded long vocoid
 It occurs initially and medially.
e : ɽuŋdi from where
d[e :] vɔm temple.
- / a / [a] is a central short low unrounded vocoid.
 It occurs in all positions.
 [a] *ɸusu* belt,
p[a] gum fruit, *ber[a]* big.
- / a : / [a :] is a central, low unrounded long vowel.
 It occurs in all positions.
 [a] *rü* six, *g[a :] li* wind,
akk[a :] elder sister.
- / o / [o] is a back, mid rounded short vocoid.
 It occurs initially and medially.
 [o] *lla* good, *k[o] lli* knife.
- / o : / [o :] is a back, mid, long rounded vocoid.
 It occurs in all positions.
 [o :] *li* bride-price,
k[o :] yi hen,
bu : dug[o :] lie-down.
- / u / [u] is a back, rounded, high, short vocoid
 It occurs in all positions.
 [u] *ko : la :* sit (mas.),
m[u] ku nose,
de : vr[u] god.

/u:/ [u:] is a back, rounded, high long vocoid.

It occurs in all positions.

[u:] *ru* a village

k [u:] *rcu* to unite

p [u:] flower

/ü/ [ü] is a central, high, unrounded short vocoid. It occurs medially and finally.

ta : *ra* : *k* [ü] *d* *ü* it gives

ko : *l* [ü] stick

1. 3. 2. CONSONANTS

/p/ [p] is a bilabial, voiceless stop. It occurs initially and medially.

[p] *ili* tamarind

mu [p] *pay* thirty

/b/ [b] is a bilabial, voiced stop. It occurs initially and medially.

[b] *okka* cheek

be *la* [b] *a* : *y* name of a bird

/t/ [t] is a dental voiceless stop. It occurs in all positions.

[t] *ala* head, *a* [t] *iskü* to it,

bi : [t] fear.

-
- / d /* [*d*] is a dental, voiced stop. It occurs initially and medially.
- [*d*] *abba* bamboo
 ga : [*d*] *i* basket
- / ɖ /* [*ɖ*] is a retroflex, voiceless stop. It occurs initially and medially.
- [*ɖ*] *enka* : *yi* coconut
 bu [*ɖ*] *ti* basket
- / ɗ /* [*ɗ*] is a retroflex, voiced stop. It occurs initially and medially.
- [*ɗ*] *abbay* seventy
 baɗ [*ɗ*] *a* cotton cloth
- / c /* [*č*] is a palatal, voiceless affricate. It occurs initially and medially.
- [*č*] *ombu* : *ru* peasant crow
 ke [*č*] *cu* to learn
- / j /* [*j*] is a palatal, voiced affricate. It occurs initially and medially.
- [*j*] *alpu* cold
 ma [*j*] *ika* buttermilk
- / k /* [*k*] is a velar, voiceless stop. It occurs initially and medially.
- [*k*] *uru* korava, *ora* [*k*] *om* sleep

/s/ [s] is an alveolar, voiceless sibilant. It occurs in all the positions.

[s] o : ru rice

mu : [s] ū to close

ne : [s] yesterday

/ʃ/ [ʃ] is a retroflex, voiceless, groove sibilant. It occurs only medially.

i [ʃ] ʃom desire

manū [ʃ] an man

/r/ [r] is an alveolar trill. It occurs in all the positions.

[r] enḍu two

ku [r] ru Yerukala

va : [r] pour

/l/ [l] is an alveolar, voiced, lateral contoid. It occurs initially and medially.

[l] ekka account

ambi [l] i gruel

/ɭ/ [ɭ] is a retroflex, voiced, lateral contoid. It occurs only medially.

vaḍ [ɭ] u paddy

a [ɭ] ɭa to weave

/v/ has two allophones [v] and [u̥].

[u̥] is a bilabial non-syllabic vocoid which occurs after a vowel and followed by a consonant.

si : [u̥] ḍi cold, sa [u̥] kinea cheap

[σ] is a labio-dental voiced continuant which occurs elsewhere.

[σ] *a : kka : du* speak.

[y] has two allophones [y] and [i].

[i] is a front, high unrounded short non-syllabic vocoid which occurs after a vowel and may be followed by a consonant.

a [i] *li* males, e [i] *la* get up

[y] is a palatal voiced fricative which occurs elsewhere.

[y] *a : bay* fifty

1. 4. Distribution of Phonemes

1. 4. 1. VOWELS.

Vowels differ in their distributional pattern due to the admixture of linguistic materials from other languages like Telugu and Tamil. All the vowels occur initially and medially except *u* which will not occur initially. In the word final position the following vowels occur, *i*, *i :*, *e*, *a*, *a :*, *o*, *u*, *u :*, *ü*. The long vowel *e :* and short vowel *o* will not occur finally.

Phoneme	Initially	Medially	Finally
<i>i</i>	<i>irði</i>	<i>cinna : ya :</i>	<i>on t i</i>
	<i>twenty</i>	<i>children</i>	<i>camei</i>

<i>Phoneme</i>	<i>Initially</i>	<i>Medially</i>	<i>Finally</i>
<i>i :</i>	<i>i : pu</i> hip	<i>si : vḍi</i> phlem	<i>ki :</i> hand
<i>e</i>	<i>emiga</i> bones	<i>keruvu</i> boy	<i>taṭṭe</i> sticks
<i>e :</i>	<i>e : ncu</i> scold	<i>ke : paṇḍ</i> oldman	
<i>a</i>	<i>aggi</i> fire	<i>kannu</i> eye	<i>emiga</i> bones
<i>a</i>	<i>a : ra</i> father	<i>ka : luga</i> legs	<i>ḍabba :</i> tin
<i>o</i>	<i>orugu</i> stomach	<i>kolom</i> caste	
<i>o :</i>	<i>o : gu</i> to go	<i>go : va : ḍsi</i> bride	<i>ko :</i> go
<i>u</i>	<i>uḍukku</i> heat	<i>urumu</i> to roar	<i>u : gu</i> to support
<i>u :</i>	<i>u : du</i> to blow	<i>ku : li</i> wage	<i>pu :</i> flower
<i>ü</i>	—	<i>tirrügi</i> again	<i>ko: lü</i> a stick

1. 4. 2. CONSONANTS.

In the word initial position all consonants can occur except *ŋ*, *l*, and *ʃ*. Finally *p*, *b*, *d*, *t*, *ḍ*, *c*, *k*, *g*, *ŋ*, *ʃ*, *r*, *l*, *l̥* and *v* do not occur. All the consonants occur medially.

<i>Phoneme</i>	<i>Initial</i>	<i>Medial</i>	<i>Final</i>
<i>p</i>	<i>pari</i> pig	<i>teppi</i> gruel	

<i>b</i>	<i>bu : du</i> to lie down	<i>kaba : nū</i> quickly	
<i>t</i>	<i>tinmu</i> to eat	<i>ta : yatiŋ</i> arm-band	<i>bi : t</i> fear
<i>d</i>	<i>de : vɔlom</i> temple	<i>ga : di</i> basket	
<i>ʔ</i>	<i>ʔenga : yi</i> coconut	<i>to : n̄ta</i> camilion	
<i>ɖ</i>	<i>ɖama : rum</i> drum	<i>seɖda</i> bad	
<i>o</i>	<i>ceppu</i> to tell	<i>necci</i> fore head	
<i>j</i>	<i>jiguru</i> paste	<i>kunju</i> young one	<i>ga : j</i> bangle
<i>k</i>	<i>kunde : li</i> hare	<i>ka : kka :</i> a crow	
<i>g</i>	<i>ga : li</i> wind	<i>agu</i> to weep	
<i>s</i>	<i>sa : klena : y</i> washerman	<i>salsa : ngi</i> easily	<i>ne : s</i> yesterday
<i>ɲ</i>		<i>manūʃon</i> man	
<i>r</i>	<i>regom</i> blood	<i>moraka : kudu</i> barks	
<i>l</i>	<i>lekka</i> money	<i>silakka</i> parrot	

<i>l</i>		<i>vaḷakre</i>	
		raise, you	
<i>o</i>	<i>va : y</i>	<i>vavva : yi</i>	
	mouth	bat	
<i>y</i>	<i>ya : va : rom</i>	<i>vayya : si</i>	<i>va : y</i>
	business	name of a month	mouth
<i>m</i>	<i>mangalana : yi</i>	<i>rommuga</i>	<i>mana : gom</i>
	barber	breasts	husband
<i>n</i>	<i>nisse</i>	<i>daniga</i>	
	fat	coriander	
<i>ṇ</i>		<i>ṭipṭi</i>	
		to turn back	

1. 5. Clusters

Yerukala has no vowel clusters in its phonological system. On the other hand there are a number of consonant clusters available in the medial position of words. The consonant clusters are of the types (i) two consonants and (ii) three consonants. The two consonant clusters can be classified further as identical $C_1 C_1$ and non-identical $C_1 C_2$ if necessary. There is only one final cluster in the data which has free variation with nasalized vowel.

1. 5. 1. Medial Clusters

1. 5. 1. 1. $C_1 C_1 / C_1 C_2$ type

The following chart shows the two consonant clusters where the phonemes in the vertical row stand for the first member in each set. A blank indicates that such sequence does not occur in the data. The number indicates that a sequence occurs in the language and refers to the numbered key of examples following the table.

p	b	t	d	t	d	k	g	c	j	s	ş	r	l	l	m	n	n
				2													
3												4					
	5									6							
		8															
			9												10		
				11						12		13		14			
					15							16					
								18						19			
									20								
					21					22		23					
			24														
	25							26		27		28	29				
	31				32							33					
														34			
36					37										38		
		39			40	41	42	43				44	45			46	
			47	48										49			50
												51					
						52						53	54				

Illustrations :

1.	<i>pp</i>	<i>appa :</i>	grand father
2.	<i>pɖ</i>	<i>epɖu</i>	when
3.	<i>bb</i>	<i>dabba</i>	bamboo
4.	<i>br</i>	<i>do : bra : vã :</i>	name of a sect
5.	<i>tt</i>	<i>atte</i>	aunt
6.	<i>ts</i>	<i>itsla :</i>	to sell
7.	<i>ty</i>	<i>matya : namu</i>	noon
8.	<i>dd</i>	<i>eddü</i>	to take
9.	<i>tɪ</i>	<i>batɪta</i>	cloth
10.	<i>tɪ</i>	<i>ta : tɪ lu</i>	place
11.	<i>ɖɖ</i>	<i>adɖẽ : ru</i>	all
12.	<i>ɖs</i>	<i>eɖsi</i>	rice
13.	<i>ɖr</i>	<i>kã : va : ɖru</i>	name of a sect
14.	<i>ɖɪ</i>	<i>põ : ɖɪ la :</i>	to put
15.	<i>kk</i>	<i>nɪ : kkü</i>	to you
16.	<i>kr</i>	<i>va : ra : kre</i>	coming
17.	<i>ky</i>	<i>sukya :</i>	star
18.	<i>cc</i>	<i>keccu</i>	to learn
19.	<i>cl</i>	<i>cecla :</i>	to do
20.	<i>jj</i>	<i>hojji</i>	belly
21.	<i>sk</i>	<i>atiskü</i>	to it
22.	<i>ss</i>	<i>nisse</i>	fat
23.	<i>sr</i>	<i>esrom</i>	anger
24.	<i>ʃt</i>	<i>iʃtom</i>	desire
25.	<i>rt</i>	<i>va : rte</i>	word
26.	<i>rc</i>	<i>kercu</i>	expense
27.	<i>rs</i>	<i>ersi</i>	rice
28.	<i>rr</i>	<i>parri</i>	pig

29.	<i>rl</i>	<i>ke : rla :</i>	to hear
30.	<i>lp</i>	<i>kalpū</i>	to mix
31.	<i>lt</i>	<i>paltu</i>	to divide
32.	<i>lk</i>	<i>ko : lkarū</i>	police man
33.	<i>ll</i>	<i>pellū</i>	tooth
34.	<i>ll</i>	<i>a a</i>	to weave
35.	<i>mp</i>	<i>gampa</i>	basket
36.	<i>mb</i>	<i>ke : mbe</i>	old woman
37.	<i>mk</i>	<i>so : rumki :</i>	right hand
38.	<i>mm</i>	<i>amma</i>	mother
39.	<i>nd</i>	<i>ondu : su</i>	boiled
40.	<i>nk</i>	<i>ro : va : nka</i>	wool
41.	<i>ng</i>	<i>va : ngū</i>	to buy
42.	<i>nc</i>	<i>meccinci</i>	sister-in-law
43.	<i>nj</i>	<i>anjū</i>	five
44.	<i>nr</i>	<i>kanreppe</i>	eyelid
45.	<i>nl</i>	<i>tinla</i>	to eat
46.	<i>nn</i>	<i>annvañ</i>	elder brother
47.	<i>nt</i>	<i>nanṭvañ</i>	relatives
48.	<i>nd</i>	<i>ponḍū</i>	wife
49.	<i>nl</i>	<i>sonṭa :</i>	to tell
50.	<i>nn</i>	<i>kanna : lamu</i>	marriage
51.	<i>vr</i>	<i>de : vru</i>	god
52.	<i>yg</i>	<i>rayga</i>	jacket
53.	<i>yr</i>	<i>eyru : pa : y</i>	hundred rupees
54.	<i>yl</i>	<i>eyla</i>	to get up

1. 5. 1. 2. Three consonant clusters. $C_1 C_2 C_3$ type

In the medial position the majority of the clusters are two consonant clusters. Three consonant clusters are very few in number. Most of them may have a homorganic nasal followed by a stop and a liquid. Other sequences are also found in the data.

- | | | | |
|----|------------|---------------------------------------|-------------------|
| 1. | <i>bbl</i> | <i>dabba:l ya:</i> | name of a sect |
| 2. | <i>mbr</i> | <i>dombra:l lu</i> | koravas |
| 3. | <i>mvd</i> | <i>ã : vɖuku, a : mɖuku</i> | castor |
| 3. | <i>mvl</i> | <i>ã : vlike : rü a : mɔlike : rü</i> | male |
| 5. | <i>ndr</i> | <i>savundrom</i> | name of a bird |
| 6. | <i>ndr</i> | <i>men : ndrakuuti</i> | name of a sect |
| 7. | <i>ynd</i> | <i>po : ynde</i> | had gone |
| 8. | <i>ync</i> | <i>ya : yncu</i> | to cause to write |
| 9. | <i>rts</i> | <i>artsü</i> | to cut |

1. 5. 2. Final Cluster $C_1 C_2$ type

The cluster *-mr* at times realized as a single consonant *-r*, by the reduction *m* into nasalization of the preceding vowel.

-mr *savanmr savãr* oil

1. 6. Syllabic Patterns

Yerukala has more disyllabic words and trisyllabic words other than polysyllabic words. Each syllable consists of a vowel as its peak which may be short or long and may have either an onset or a coda or both. Initial syllables have a single consonant as their

onset while the coda of a syllable may have a consonant or two consonants. Medial syllables may have onset consisting of cluster as an exception in polysyllabic words. The syllabic structure of the words are arranged according to the number of syllables in a word. Each syllable has been identified further as open or close.

1. 6. 1. Monosyllables

i. 6. 1. 1. Open syllables

(C) V :

e : which

a : that

ea : to come

ko : to go

1. 6. 1. 2. Close syllables

(C) V C & C V : C

ay having come

pey to train

ne:s yesterday

1. 6. 2. Disyllabic words

1. 6. 2. 1. Open syllable

$$(C)\bar{V} \quad \bar{C}\bar{V} / (C) \quad \bar{V}\bar{C} \quad (C) \quad C \quad \bar{V}$$

<i>agu</i>	to weep
<i>i : pu</i>	hip
<i>mo : ki :</i>	cubit
<i>ipo :</i>	now
<i>ma : da</i>	a coin
<i>na da</i>	walk
<i>appa :</i>	grand father
<i>son la :</i>	to tell

1. 6. 2. 2. Close syllable

$$(C) V (C) \bar{C}\bar{V}\bar{C} CV CVC$$

<i>a : kuru</i>	it will be
<i>esrom</i>	anger
<i>kannom</i>	cheeck
<i>varum</i>	it will come

1. 6. 3. Tri-syllabic words

1. 6. 3. 1. Open syllable

$$V (C) C \bar{V} (C) CV / CV (C)(C) CV (C) CV$$

<i>ambili</i>	gruel
<i>i : cango : lu</i>	palmstick

<i>kumma : ya:</i>	name of a sect
<i>kolusu</i>	offer
<i>ko : lkaru</i>	police
<i>gammundu</i>	without noise
<i>tangasi</i>	younger sister
<i>pedda : va</i>	father's elder sister

1. 6. 3. 2. Close syllable

(C) V (C) CV CVC

<i>kaṇḍum</i>	it will see
<i>celligum</i>	will sprinkle
<i>annaṇum</i>	elder brother

1. 6. 4. Four syllable words

1. 6. 4. 1. Open syllable

(C) V (C) C $\overline{\text{V}}$ (C) CV(C) CV

<i>ko : yiku : ḍu</i>	hen-house
<i>gercigeḍḍa</i>	sweet potato
<i>saripo : su</i>	it's alright

1. 6. 4. 2. Close syllable

CV (C)C V CV CVC

<i>kaṇḍūgirom</i>	have bought
-------------------	-------------

1. 6. 5. Five syllable words

1. 6. 5. 1. Open syllable

(C)VC C^uV CV CV(C) CV

<i>pange : rimaga</i>	woman
<i>saripo : kandi</i>	alright
<i>kerwewuku : i</i>	a small girl

1. 6. 5. 2. Close syllable

(C)VC C^uV CV CV(C) CVC

pange : ricinna : y a small girl

2 NOUNS

2. 0. Nouns are those forms which can take case suffixes.

A noun form consists of a nucleus called stem with or without peripheral material. A few noun stems denoting human beings distinguish gender morphologically by the addition of respective gender markers. Similarly number distinction is also restricted to a few nouns.

2. 1. Noun Stems:

Nouns are classified into (i) substantives (ii) pronouns and (iii) numerals. Substantive noun stems are classified into two major groups viz., (1) stems taking gender and or number suffixes and (2) inherant nouns.

2. 1. 1. Stems taking gender-number suffixes.

The noun stems which take gender number suffixes are classified on the basis of the masculine suffixes. Each main class is further subdivided on the basis of the feminine suffix which they take.

2. 1. 2. Gender

Those nouns which distinguish gender morphologically can be identified by their gender markers viz., masculine or feminine. Gender is also distinguished periphrastically where the gender denoting words are in the attributive position. (cf. 2. 1. 2. 3.)

2. 1. 2. 1. Masculine

Masculine is shown by four forms in Yerukala. *-a : d̥ a*, *-um*, *-ka n̄* and *-na : yi*.

- (i) *-a : d̥ a* : occurs with the stems of class (1) *mace-mace-a d̥ a* : brother-in-law.

- (ii) *-um* occurs with stems of class (2).

<i>mag - um</i>	son
<i>go : va : d̥ -um</i>	bride-groom

-um varies freely with *-in* in the vocative with the marker *-e* :

<i>mag - in - e :</i>	Oh! son
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- (iii) *-ka : n̄* occurs with the stems of the class (3)

<i>ku : li - ka : n̄</i>	worker (male)
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- (iv) *-na : yi* occurs with the stems of the class (4).

<i>par - na : yi</i>	Harijan
<i>sa : kle - na : yi</i>	washerman
<i>kamasai - na : yi</i>	goldsmith

<i>kolli - na : yi</i>	black-smith
<i>koluvi - na : yi</i>	carpenter
<i>mangal - na : yi</i>	barber
<i>ma : digi - na : yi</i>	man of Madagi sect

The suffix *-na : yi* can be replaced by the word *ā : vlige : ru* which means 'man' literally. It means *-na : yi* should be a word now reduced to the state of a suffix.

<i>sa : kle - ā : vlige : ru</i>	washerman
<i>sa : kle - pangidi</i>	washer-woman

2. 1. 2. 2. Feminine

Feminine is marked by four forms in Yerukala viz: *-inci*, *-al*, *-dsi* and *-pangidi*.

- (i) *-inci* occurs with the stems of class 1.

<i>macc - inci</i>	sister-in-law
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- (ii) *-al* occurs with class 2 stems. *-al* varies freely with *-il* in vocative with that marker *-e* :

<i>mag - a (i)</i>	daughter
<i>mag - il - e :</i>	Oh ! daughter

- (iii) *-dsi* occurs with class 3 items.

<i>go : va : -dsi</i>	bride.
<i>ku : lika : -dsi</i>	worker (female)

- (iv) *-pangidi* occurs with class 4 stems.

<i>sa : kle - pangidi</i>	washer woman
<i>koluvi - pangidi</i>	carpenter's wife
<i>mangalna : yi - pangidi</i>	wife of a barber

2: 1. 2. 3. Gender-Periphrastically

Masculine is denoted by the forms *pottü* and *sa :* for animals and birds respectively. Feminine is denoted by *potte* in Yerukala for both birds and animals.

These words when occur as attributes before nouns which have single form. They denote respective gender not by themselves but only with the attribute.

Masculine : *po : ttü*

Animals

<i>po : ttü na : yi</i>	dog (male)
<i>po : ttü a : du</i>	ram/he-goat

Birds :

<i>sa : ko : yi</i>	cock.
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Feminine : *potte*

<i>potte na : yi</i>	bitch
<i>potte a : du</i>	she-goat
<i>potte ma : du</i>	cow
<i>potte ko : yi</i>	hen

2. 1. 3. Number

There are two numbers viz., singular and plural. Singular is unmarked in general except in pronouns where there are separate markers. Plural is denoted both by periphrastic constructions where number marker occurs as attributes, or morphologically by plural suffixes.

2. 1. 3. 1. Plural is denoted by five forms viz., -a:, -ga, -galu, -lu, -ma:ru which occurs only after nouns.

(i) -a: occurs with the stem *cinna:y*.

<i>cinna:y - a:</i>	girls
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(ii) -ga, -galu, -lu are the forms which freely vary with one another.

<i>kaṭṭu - ga</i>	bundles
<i>ga:di - ga</i>	baskets
<i>ga:di - lu</i>	baskets
<i>ga:di - galu</i>	baskets

(iii) -m:aru occurs with nouns denoting human beings. At times -ga also can occur after -ma:ru as intensifier or reduplicative of meaning.

<i>akka - ma:ru</i>	elder sisters
<i>makka - ma:ru</i>	children
<i>poṇḍu - ma:ru</i>	wives
<i>makka - ma:ruga</i>	children
<i>poṇḍu - ma:ruga</i>	wives

2. 1. 4. Pronouns

Pronouns do not distinguish gender but distinguish only number in all the three persons. The interrogative pronouns also do not distinguish either gender or number. There too one cannot identify the gender because of lack of concord between the pronoun and pronominal termination.

2. 1. 4. 1. Singular

Singular is shown by two forms viz. *-nu* and *-tu*.

-nu occurs with first and second person stems. This suffix is optional at times.

<i>na</i> :	<i>-nu</i>	I
<i>ni</i> :	<i>-nu</i>	you (sg.)
<i>na</i> :		I
<i>ni</i> :		you (sg.)

-tu occurs with third person.

<i>a-tu</i>	he, she, it.
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2. 1. 4. 2. Plural

Plural is expressed by the suffixes

-nga(l)/-nga(l), and *-y/-s*.

-nga(l)/-nga(l) occurs with first and second person stems. Here the */l/* phonemes do not contrast with each other. The phoneme shows two different stages viz. the proto stage in which it has *l* while due to the influence of Telugu the suffix *l*.

<i>na</i> :	<i>nga(l)</i>	we
<i>ni</i> :	<i>nga(l)</i>	you (pl.)

-y/s occurs with third person.

<i>a-y/a-s</i>	they
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I. sg.	<i>na</i> :/ <i>na</i> : <i>nu</i>
Excl. pl.	<i>na</i> : <i>nge/nange</i>
Incl. pl.	<i>na</i> : <i>mbe/nambru</i>

II. sg. *ni : /ni : nu*

pl. *ni : nga*

III. sg. *atu*

pl. *ay as*

2. 1. 5. Numerals

Basic numerals of Yerukala show that they are indigenous while multiples of ten, hundred etc. are borrowings from Telugu, their second language, the language of the region which is a cultivated language. Some of the cardinals can take suffixes denoting human beings.

2. 1. 5. 1. Cardinals denoting one to eight, ten, hundred, thousand and crore are mono morphemic forms.

<i>unḍu'ṇḍu</i>	one
<i>reṇḍu'ṇḍu</i>	two
<i>mu : ḍu</i>	three
<i>na : lu</i>	four
<i>anḍu</i>	five
<i>a : ru</i>	six
<i>o : gu</i>	seven
<i>oṭṭu</i>	eight
<i>pottu</i>	ten
<i>nu : ru</i>	hundred
<i>ey</i>	thousand
<i>ko : ḍi</i>	crore

2. 1. 5. 2. Cardinals denoting nine and ninety have two morphemes each.

Nine *om-bedu* where *bedu* can be analysed as an allomorph of ten {*pottu*}, while *om-* can be analysed as an allomorph of morpheme denoting one {*oṇḍu*}.

Multiples of ten are as follows :

twenty	<i>iravay</i>
thirty	<i>muppay</i>
forty	<i>nalabay</i>
fifty	<i>ya : bay</i>
sixty	<i>aravay</i>
seventy	<i>ḍabbay</i>

eighty *enabay* are having two allomorphs each. *-vay* and *-(b)bay* are allomorphs to the morpheme ten {*pottu*}.

These bound forms occur after the stems. *-(b) bay* occurs with *mu -*, *ya :-*, *ḍa-*, *nala-* and *tom-* while *-vay* occurs after *ira-* and *ara-*. The stems which occur before the suffix denoting ten should be treated as allomorphs of the respective mono-morphemic forms.

2. 1. 5. 3. Stem alternants

{ <i>reṇḍu</i> }	<i>ira-</i> , <i>reṇḍu</i>
{ <i>mu : ḍu</i> }	<i>mu-</i> , <i>mu : ḍu</i>
{ <i>na : lu</i> }	<i>nala-</i> , <i>na : lu</i>
{ <i>anju</i> }	<i>ya :-</i> , <i>anju</i>
{ <i>a : ru</i> }	<i>ara-</i> , <i>a : ru</i>
{ <i>o : gu</i> }	<i>da-</i> , <i>o : gu</i>
{ <i>oṭṭu</i> }	<i>ena-</i> , <i>oṭṭu</i>
{ <i>oṇḍu</i> }	<i>oṇḍu</i> , <i>-hoṇḍu</i>
{ <i>pottu</i> }	<i>pottu</i> , <i>pada-</i> , <i>pan-</i> , <i>padi-</i> , <i>poḍ-</i> , <i>poḍu-</i> , <i>pay</i> , <i>podan-</i> , <i>-bodu</i> .

2. 1. 5. 4. Personal marker

-e : ru occurs with cardinals denoting number of persons shown by the integral.

na : lu-e : ru > *na : le : ru* four persons

pottu-e : ru > *potte : ru* ten persons

ronḍu-e : ru > *ronḍe : r* two people

aḍḍ-e : ru all the people

2. 1. 5. 5. Ordinals

Ordinal suffixes are *-o :* and *-vadū*. They are in free variation with each others. They occur only with integrals. There are two separate forms for first and second apart from the derived ordinals from cardinals.

2. 1. 5. 5. 1. Underived ordinals

minni first

serunḍi second

2. 1. 5. 5. 2. Derived ordinals

ronḍa : -vadū second, *ronḍ-o :* second

muṇḍ-o : third, *mu : ḍa : -vadū* third

The nouns *ḍ : vlike : ru* 'male' and *pange : ri* 'woman' have *-ke : r-*, *-ge : r-* respectively with which *-e : r-* is partially identical in shape and meaning.

2. 1. 6. Stem alternents of cardinals

2. 1. 6. 1. One {oŋdu} ∞ hoŋdu, ∞ oŋdu

-hoŋdu occurs after pada- 'ten'

pada-hoŋdu eleven

-oŋdu occurs elsewhere.

oŋde : ru one person

2. 1. 6. 2. Two {reŋdu}, ∞ reŋdu ∞ neŋdu ∞ ira-
ira- occurs before -vay

ira-vay twenty

∞ neŋdu occurs after pan-

pan-neŋdu twelve

reŋdu occurs elsewhere.

reŋdu-¹onde > roŋdonde two hundred

2. 1. 6. 3. Three {mu : du} ∞ mu-, ∞ mu : du

mu- occurs before -ppay

mu-ppay thirty

mu : du occurs elsewhere.

mu : du three

2. 1. 6. 4. Four {na : lu} nala-, ∞ na : lu

nala- occurs before -bay

nala-bay forty

na : lu occurs elsewhere.

1 -u > /-o

2. 1. 6. 5. Five {*anju*} ∞ *anju*, ∞ *ya:-*

ya:- occurs before *bay*

ya: bay fifty

anju occurs elsewhere.

anju + andalu > *anjondalu* five hundred

2. 1. 6. 6. Six {*a:ru*} ∞ *ara-*, ∞ *a:ru*

ara- occurs before *-vay*.

aravay sixty

a:ru occurs elsewhere.

a:ru six

2. 1. 6. 7. Seven {*o:gu*} ∞ *o:gu*, ∞ *da-*

da- occurs before *-bbay*.

da-bbay seventy

o:gu occurs elsewhere.

o:gu-onde > *o:gonde* seven hundred

2. 1. 6. 8. Eight {*ottu*} ∞ *ottu* ∞ *ena-*

ena- occurs before *-bay*.

enabay eighty.

ottu occurs elsewhere.

ottu eight

2. 1. 6. 9. Nine {*ombodu*} has been treated as two morpheme word. But the problem is *tom-bay* ninety where *tom* stands for nine! and *bay* for ten!!

2. 1. 6, 10. Ten {*pottu*} ∞ *pottu*, ∞ *poda*, ∞ *pan-*
 ∞ *padi*, ∞ *pada-* ∞ ~*bodu*, ∞ *podu*, ∞ *ppay*
 ~*bay*, -*vay*.

~*-bay* occurs after *nala-*, *ena-*, *ya :-*.

<i>nalabay</i>	forty
<i>enabay</i>	eighty
<i>ya : bay</i>	fifty

~*vay* occurs after *ara-* and *ira-*.

<i>ara-vay</i>	sixty
<i>ira-vay</i>	twenty

iravay form varies with *irdi* where *-di* stands as an allomorph of the morpheme ten {*pottu*}.

~*ppay* occurs after *mup-*.

<i>mu-ppay</i>	thirty.
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~*bodu* occurs after *om-*.

<i>ombodu</i>	nine
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~*pada* occurs before *-hoṇḍu*.

<i>padahoṇḍu</i>	eleven
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~*pan-* occurs before *-nenḍu*.

<i>pannenḍu</i>	twelve
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~*padi-* occurs before *mu : ḍu*, *na : lu*.

<i>padi-na : lu</i>	fourteen
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~ *podin-* occurs before *o : gu, oṭṭu, a : ru, -aydu* etc.

podin- o : gu seventeen

pottu occurs elsewhere.

pottu ten

Like *irdi* 'twenty', there is *muppidūṭi* 'thirty' which occurs as a free variation to the form *muppay*, the dominant, widely used form among Yerukala.

{*ey*} thousand

vey, ve : lu, andaluṭṭonḍalu thousand

2. 2. Case Systems

There are eight cases in Yerukala in which nominative is unmarked. The other case markers occur with the oblique form of the noun or pronoun.

2. 2. 1. Nominative

amma : mother

atte aunt

na : nu I

ni : nu you (sg.)

nanga we

ni : nga you (pl.)

2. 2. 2. Accusative case

Accusative is shown by the markers *-ne* and *-e*.

2. 2. 2. 1. *-e* occurs with pronouns.

<i>nann-e</i>	I
<i>ninn-e</i>	you
<i>a-te</i>	it
<i>ayy-e</i>	them

2. 2. 2. 2. *-ne* occurs elsewhere.

<i>amma-ne</i>	mother
<i>atta-ne</i>	aunt
<i>ga : di-ne</i>	basket
<i>kolli-ne</i>	knife

2. 2. 3. Instrumental

Instrumental is shown by the suffixal morpheme $\{-li\} \in li,$
 $\in -la : re$.

2. 2. 3. 1. $\in -la : re$ occurs with the noun stem *kaṇ-ye*

<i>kaṇ-la : re</i>	by the eye
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2. 2. 3. 2. $\in li$ occurs elsewhere.

<i>kolli-li</i>	by the knife
<i>ki : -li</i>	by the hand

2. 2. 4. Associative

Associative is expressed by the suffix *-o : du* and by the post position *gu : de*. Both have the same function.

2. 2. 4. 1. *-o : du*

<i>nann-o : du</i>	with me
<i>ninn-o : du</i>	with you (sg.)

2. 2. 4. 2. -gu : de

<i>na : gu : de</i>	with me.
<i>ni : gu : de</i>	with you (sg.)
<i>nanga gu : de</i>	with us

2. 2. 5. Dative

Dative case has two suffixal markers which are in complementary distribution. The forms are *-ku* and *-ki*.

2. 2. 5. 1. *-ki* occurs with nouns ending in vowel *i*

<i>ga : di-ki</i>	to the basket
<i>kolli-ki</i>	to the knife
<i>ko : yi-ki</i>	to the hen

2. 2. 5. 2. *-ku* occurs (with other nouns) elsewhere.

<i>na : -ku</i>	to me
<i>ni : -ku</i>	to you
<i>nanga!u-ku</i>	to us
<i>annavum-ku</i>	to elder brother
<i>u : r-ku</i>	to the village

2. 2. 6. Genitive case

Genitive case has two markers which occur with nouns. The forms are *-t̥t̥u* and *-ne*.

-t̥t̥u occurs with pronouns.

<i>na : -t̥t̥u</i>	mine
<i>ne : -t̥t̥u</i>	your

-ne which has a free variant *nas* with the stem *atte* occurs elsewhere.

<i>a : va-ne</i>	of the father
<i>atte-ne</i>	of the aunt
<i>atte-nas</i>	of the aunt.

Genitive case is also expressed without any marker i.e. the word order. Noun construction gives the genitive meaning.

<i>nanga a : va</i>	my father
<i>nanga amma</i>	my mother

2. 2. 7. Locative

Locative is expressed both by case suffixes and post positions. It is very interesting to note that Yerukala has three post position and only one suffix.

2. 2. 7. 1. Suffix *-le* occurs with all nouns except pronouns.

<i>ma : dule</i> > <i>ma : t̪ule</i>	<i>ma : t̪le</i>	in the cow
<i>u : ru-le</i> > <i>ur : le</i>		in the village

Post-positions : *ko : ru*, *ta : t̪i*, and *ma : t̪tu*

2. 2. 7. 2. *ma : t̪tu* occurs with pronouns

<i>na : ma : t̪tu</i>	with me
<i>nangama : t̪tu</i>	with us

2. 2. 7. 3. *ta : t̪i* occurs with animate including pronouns *ta : t̪i* freely varies with the form *da : t̪i* that is initial consonant is often voiced.

<i>ma : van-ta : t̪i</i>	with uncle
<i>kollan-ta : t̪i</i>	with black-smith
<i>na : -ta : t̪i</i>	with me
<i>sa : klena : y-da : t̪i</i>	with washerman

2. 2. 7. 4. *ko:ru* occurs with inanimates. *ko:ru* freely varies with *ko:ku*

<i>ki:-ko:ru</i>	in the hand
<i>ba:y-ko:ru</i>	in the well
<i>la:ri-ko:ku</i>	in the lorry
<i>i:ccancedi-ko:ru</i>	in the date palm tree
<i>kanni-ko:ku</i>	in the snare
<i>taṇṇi-ko:ku</i>	in the water

2. 2. 7. 5. Post-position: *-me:ne* 'on'

Locative case is also denoted by the post position *-me:ne* which freely varies with *me:le*.

<i>baṭṭe me:ne</i>	on the cloth
<i>baṭṭe me:le</i>	on the cloth ¹

2. 2. 8. Ablative

Ablative case is expressed by the suffixal form *-uṇḍi* which occurs with place names and with the locative form of other nouns.

<i>gu:ḍu:r-uṇḍi</i>	from Gudur
<i>na:ta:ṭṭi-li-uṇḍi</i>	> <i>na:ta:ṭṭi-uṇḍi</i> from me ²

Demonstrative Bases

Remote:	<i>a:/a</i>	<i>a-du</i>	that, he, she, it
Proximate:	<i>i:/i</i>	<i>i-du</i>	this, he, she, it
Interrogative:	<i>e:</i>	<i>e:-du</i>	who
		<i>e:do:</i>	some one

{*a:*} ∞ *a:*, ∞ *a-*

{*i:*} ∞ *i:*, ∞ *i-*

{*e:*} ∞ *e:*

¹ *-n- ~ -l-* Phonemic free variation

² *-le* form becomes *li-* before *uṇḍi* and the final *i* in *li* gets lost before a vowel.

3. VERBS

3. 0. Verbs are those forms which can take tense suffixes. There are a few defective verbs which will not take tense markers but capable of occurring in the predicate slot. A verb form consists of a nucleus called stem with or with out suffixal peripheral material. The conjugated finite forms distinguish only number and person.

Yerukala verbs are mainly classified into (1) transitive verbs (2) intransitive verbs and (3) causatives.

3. 1. Transitive

Transitives can be classified morphologically (i) derived and (ii) inherent transitives. Derived transitives have intransitive stem and a transitive suffix in that order. Transitive is expressed by the suffix *-p-*.

3. 1. 1. Derived transitives

<i>kɛl -p-</i>	to teach
	to make to learn
<i>sɛru -p-</i>	to make sharp

3. 1. 2. Inherent transitives

<i>kɛɖi</i>	to drink
<i>tin</i>	to eat
<i>ccɛcu</i>	to do
<i>ikki</i>	to sell
<i>v : angu</i>	to buy
<i>kɔɖu</i>	to give

3. 2. Intransitive

Intransitive verbs are broadly classified into two groups where group (i) can occur as stems and take transitive markers and group (ii) can not occur as stems for derived transitives. Both these groups are inherent intransitives.

3. 2. 1. Intransitives : group (i)

These verbs are capable of taking transitive markers.

<i>kel-</i>	to learn
<i>seru-</i>	to sharpen

3. 2. 2. Intransitives : group (ii).

<i>agu</i>	to weep
<i>arsa : kkūdu</i>	to growl
<i>a : ku</i>	to become
<i>a : du</i>	to play
<i>a : ru</i>	to get cool
<i>ikū</i>	to be
<i>ille/a</i>	not/no
<i>i : y</i>	to get down
<i>ukku</i>	to sit
<i>urumu</i>	to growl
<i>oḍiya :</i>	come running
<i>oḍago :</i>	get down
<i>oḍi</i>	to break
<i>oriku</i>	to sleep
<i>o : /ko : ipo :</i>	to go
<i>o : du</i>	to run

<i>kettu</i>	to crow
<i>ko : ttu</i>	to cry
<i>jarugu</i>	to move
<i>siri</i>	to laugh
<i>sa : vñ</i>	to die (<i>setto : su</i>)
<i>tippu</i>	to wander
<i>nada</i>	to walk
<i>niru/millu</i>	to stand
<i>pugu</i>	to lie down
<i>(pu : nu) pu : r</i>	to enter
<i>pey</i>	to rain
<i>bu : du</i>	to lie down
<i>manṭu</i>	to burn
<i>maṇḍu</i>	to pain
<i>monḍipo :</i>	to get blunt
<i>moraka : kidu</i>	barks
<i>vancu</i>	to bend
<i>va :</i>	come

3. 3. Derived transitives

intr.	tr.	
<i>i : y-</i>	<i>isu</i>	to unload
<i>eddiri</i>	<i>eddirisu</i>	to get up
<i>e : lu</i>	<i>e : lsu</i>	wake up

3. 4. Inherent transitives

<i>ampu</i>	to send
<i>aru</i>	to cut
<i>allu</i>	to sell

<i>asu</i>	to invite
<i>a : kku</i>	to cook
<i>iṭu</i>	to place
<i>iḍu</i>	to lay (egg)
<i>i : nu</i>	to give birth to
<i>uttu</i>	to wash
<i>uy</i>	to spit
<i>u : nu/u : gu</i>	to support
<i>u : du</i>	to blow
<i>eku</i>	to climb
<i>eku</i>	to place
<i>ettu</i>	to take
<i>eḍu</i>	to carry/take
<i>okki</i>	to kick
<i>oṭṭu</i>	to serve
<i>oḍi</i>	to break
<i>ottu</i>	to wash
<i>ole</i>	to grow/raise
<i>o : gu</i>	to boil
<i>kaṭṭu</i>	to tie
<i>kaḍi</i>	to bite
<i>kaḍiga : bu : cu</i>	to born
<i>kanipeṭi</i>	to understood
<i>kanu</i>	to learn
<i>kali</i>	to mix
<i>ka : su</i>	to boil
<i>ka : lasi</i>	to quarrel
<i>kuccu</i>	to pierce
<i>kuḍi</i>	to drink

<i>kuttu</i>	to hit
<i>kuppoḍu</i>	to call; invite
<i>ku : ru</i>	to gather; add
<i>keḍu</i>	to spoil
<i>keṭṭu</i>	to tie
<i>ke : ru</i>	to hear
<i>konu</i>	to buy
<i>koḍu</i>	to give
<i>konsu</i>	to cut
<i>kolsu</i>	to worship
<i>ko : ṭu</i>	to put
<i>gavnsu</i>	to look after
<i>gemmu</i>	to drive away
<i>ca : lu</i>	enough to be sufficient
<i>sa : nu</i>	enough
<i>ceccu</i>	to do
<i>ceppu</i>	to tell
<i>celligu</i>	to sprinkle
<i>coguru</i>	to smoothen the surface
<i>si : ttu</i>	to blow the nose.
<i>suḍu</i>	to burn; to cook
<i>suttu</i>	to role; wind
<i>se : ru</i>	to join
<i>sonnu</i>	to tell
<i>ta :</i>	to give
<i>tinnu</i>	to eat
<i>tippu</i>	to turn
<i>tippu</i>	to wander
<i>ti : ṭṭu</i>	to make sharp

<i>to : ye</i>	to wash
<i>to : mu</i>	to brush
<i>nakku</i>	to lick
<i>name</i>	to wet
<i>noḍaḍa</i>	to dry
<i>pankiṭu</i>	to divide
<i>paṭṭuḍiḍu</i>	to get struck
<i>paḍi/poḍi</i>	to winnow
<i>pampoḍu</i>	to send
<i>paḷu</i>	to split
<i>pa : ru</i>	to see
<i>piccu</i>	to separate
<i>piḍi</i>	to divide
<i>pitsu</i>	to pluck
<i>puga : kū</i>	to quarrel
<i>piḍi, puḍi</i>	to catch
<i>pekla : kū</i>	to catch
<i>peccu</i>	to torn
<i>pesla, pes</i>	to mix
<i>perku</i>	to pick up
<i>pokkū</i>	to break
<i>po : ḍu</i>	to serve
<i>po : ḍsu</i>	to kill
<i>mikka</i>	to step on
<i>mu : s</i>	to close
<i>mottu</i>	to hit
<i>moccu</i>	to hit

<i>ra : y</i>	to write
<i>vanku</i>	to buy
<i>vancu</i>	to bend
<i>va!a</i>	to grow/rear
<i>va : stu</i>	to talk
<i>: r</i>	to pour

3. 2. Verb Stems

Verb stems are classified on the basis of the past tense markers they can have. They are class I stems which take *-t-*, class II which take *-d-* and class III which take *-n-*. Class IV stems take zero as past tense suffix.

3. 3. Tense

There are three tenses in Yerukala viz. past, present and future. The present is used with temporal markers like 'tomorrow' 'then' etc. to denote future action. In other words past versus non-past are the two dominant divisions. But future tense forms are also attested in the data occasionally. Each tense is expressed by distinct suffixes. The conjugated finites distinguish only number in the first and second person while the third person has no such distinction. Another important feature of Yerukala is that the third person finite forms neither distinguish gender nor number. Only the context of the subject of the sentence helps to know the referent.

3. 3. 1. Past tense

Past tense is shown by five forms viz., *-tt-*, *-t-*, *-nd*, *-n-* and *-s-*. The tense markers are followed by person and number marker in the I and II persons while person marker in the III person.

3. 3. 1. 1. -n- occurs with the stems of the class I.

<i>po : -n-e</i>	went, I
<i>po : -n-om</i>	went, we
<i>po : -n-emu</i>	„
<i>po : -n-e</i>	went, you (sg.)
<i>po : -n-i-nge</i>	went, you (pl.)

3. 3. 1. 2. Tense -s-

<i>po : -s-u</i>	went, he, she, it, they
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3. 3. 1. 3. -nd- occurs with the stems of class II.

<i>ta-nd-e</i>	gave, I
<i>ta-nd-om</i>	gave, we
<i>ta-nd-e</i>	gave, you (sg.)
<i>ta-nd-e-nge</i>	gave, you (pl.)
<i>ta-n-dsu > tansu</i>	gave, he, she, it, they

3. 3. 1. 4. -t- occurs with the stems of the class III.

<i>ar-t-e</i>	cut, I
<i>ar-t-om</i>	cut, we
<i>ar-t-e</i>	cut, you (sg.)
<i>ar-t-i-nge</i>	cut, you (pl.)
<i>ar-t-su</i>	cut, it, she, he, they

3. 3. 1. 5. -tt-

<i>pa : r-tt-e > pa : tte</i>	saw, I
<i>-om > pa : ttom</i>	saw, we

tandsu > tansu by the reduction of -d in *tond-* or it should be treated as an allomorph/a stem alternant; *tan-* before past tense morpheme.

rtt > tt in *pa : rtte > pa : tte* where *r > 0/-tt*

3. 3. 2. Present tense

Present tense is shown by the forms *-kya : r-*, *-a : kr-*, *-ka : k-*, *-a : k' -ak-*, *-kk-* and *-kr-*. Apart from these forms there are periphrastic constructions in which the finite forms of the verb 'be' occur in sequence with the main verb denoting present perfect, but used as ordinary present tense. In other words the verb takes an auxiliary 'be' verb for simple present and present perfect tense in Yerukala. This may be due to the informants inability to distinguish the minor difference or they might have been using both the forms as free variants.

3. 3. 2. 1. *~kk-* occurs with the stems ending in long vowel when followed by third person suffix.

po : -kk-üdü goes he, she, it
go, they

3. 3. 2. 2. *~kr-* occurs with the stems ending in long vowel when followed by I and II person markers.

po : -kr-e go, I
po : -kr-om go, we
po : -kr-e go, you (sg.)
po : -kr-e-nge go, you (pl.)

3. 3. 2. 3. *~ka : k-* occurs with stems ending in vowels i, a, and when followed by third person

kuli-ka : küdü drinks, he, she, it
drink, they
naḍa-ka : k-üdü walks, he, she, it
walk, they

3. 3. 2. 4. $\sim ka : kr-$ occurs with stems ending in vowels *i, a*, and when followed by either I or II person suffixes.

<i>kudi-ka : kr-e</i>	drink, I
<i>kudi-ka : kr-on</i>	drink, we
<i>kudi-ka : kr-enge</i>	drink, you

3. 3. 2. 5. $-ka : kr-$ is in free variation with $-kya : r-$ when it is followed by first person singular marker.

<i>kudi-kya : r-e</i>	drink, I
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3. 3. 2. 6. $-a : k$ which is in free variation with $-ak$ occurs elsewhere.

mett u -a : k- u d u > *motta : k u d u* *

hits, it, he, she

hit, they

peyy-a : k- u d u

rains, it

va : st-a : k- u d u

talks it, he, she

talk, they

kett u -a : k- u d u

cries, it

cry, they

va : r-ak- u d u

comes he, she, it

come, they

* - *u* > 0/ Vowel beginning.

Stem final *u* becomes zero before tense morpheme which begins in a vowel.

3. 3. 3. Future tense

Future tense is shown by three forms viz. *-pp-*, *-mb-* and *-um*.

3. 3. 3. 1. *-pp-* occurs with the stems which take past tense marker *-ti-*.

pa : r-pp-om > pa : ppom will see, we

3. 3. 3. 2. *-mb-* occurs elsewhere when followed by plural marker *-o/-om*.

po : -mb-o :/-om will go, we

mottu-mb-o will beat, we

3. 3. 3. 3. *-um* occurs as future tense marker and also as singular.

var-um will come it, he, she

o : g-um will go it, he, she

3. 5. Interrogative is shown by the suffix *-a :* which occurs after the finite forms.

kurso : -a : > kurso : va : ¹ have you drank?

3. 6. Imperative

Imperative forms may take addressee suffix optionally viz. either masculine or feminine marker. Imperative singular is unmarked while the plural morpheme has the form *-ngo :*. After the imperative plural suffix the addressee suffix never appears.

¹ *o : -a : > o : va :* where *v* as glide comes between a back and a central vowel.

3. 6. 1. Singular

<i>ke : ru</i>	ask,	<i>ni : ke : ru</i>	you (sg.) ask
<i>va :</i>	come	<i>ni : va :</i>	you (sg.) come
		<i>ni : va : la</i>	you (sg. mas.) come.
		<i>ni : va : li</i>	you (sg. fem.) come
<i>tinnu</i>	cat	<i>ni : tinnu</i>	you (sg.) eat
		<i>ni : tin-la</i>	you (mas. sg.) eat
		<i>ni : tin-li</i>	you (fem. sg) eat

3. 6. 2. Plural: -ngo :

<i>ni : nga</i>	<i>va : -ngo :</i>	you come
	<i>va : ru-ngo :</i>	you come
<i>ni : nga</i>	<i>ke : ru-ngo :</i>	you ask
<i>ni : nga</i>	<i>tinnu-ngo :</i>	you eat
	or	
	<i>tinnu-ngo</i> ²	you eat

3. 7. Infinitive

Infinitive suffix occurs usually with the imperative singular form which is the base. The infinitive is shown by the forms (s) -ga in Yerukala.

<i>o : -ga</i>	to go
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² In fast speech *tinnungo* : becomes *tinungo* : with most of the informants.

<i>so : ru tingra keruvu</i>	the boy who eats rice
<i>tir- r-a</i>	wandering
<i>na : du tirra kurru</i>	the Korava who wanders the country-side

3. 10. Temporal

-pdu is the suffix which represents temporal and it occurs after the tense marks and negative suffixes. Temporal suffix can occur after the relative participle forms of the verbs.

<i>o : gra-pdu</i>	when someone goes
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3. 11. Complex verbs.

Complex verbs are formed by adding one or more auxiliary verbs either to the infinitive form of the verb or verbal participle form of the main verbs. Those complex verbs formed by adding auxiliaries to the "main verb-infinitive" are called *models* and those formed by adding auxiliaries to the "main verb-verbal participle" are called *aspects*.

Models

Casuative : *ay* 'to place, to do' occurs as causal auxiliary after the infinitive form of the verb. There is a pause between the main verb and the auxiliary.

<i>a : ra ay</i>	cause to let it become cool.
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Complex (stems) verbs

<i>aypo :</i>	exhaust
<i>a : ra uḍḍi</i>	to make
<i>oḍiya : ra</i>	come running
<i>kalsige : ṇḍu</i>	having mixed

koḍuttuwa : give and come back

koṇḍuwa : bring

ce : nḥika : ʔʔi iṛu to join/to unite

setto : su it has died.

tamni : vattungo to bathe

paṭṭugidṣu to struck in

3. 12. Causative

Causative is a derived category where the transitive stems take causal suffix. Causative is expressed by two forms viz. *-ppi* and *-pi*.

(i) *-ppi* occurs with the stems of the class I.

eg. <i>kud-i-ppi</i>	cause to drink
<i>ni-ppi</i>	cause to stand
<i>ceru-ppi</i>	cause to get sharpened
<i>kali-ppi</i>	cause to get mixed
<i>va : r-¹ppi</i>	cause to pour

(ii) *-pi* occurs with the stems of the class II.

eg. <i>tim-pi</i>	cause to eat
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¹ *-ɪpp- > pp* that is *va : r-ppi > va : ppi* where three consonant cluster becomes two consonant cluster.

3. 13. Verbal noun

There is only one suffix *-adū* which represents verbal noun and this suffix occurs after the past and present tense markers.

<i>-adū</i>	
<i>u : d-r-adū</i>	the act of blowing (the conch)
<i>ik-r-adū</i>	the act of remaining
<i>ar-kr-adū</i>	the act of cutting
<i>iccg-r-adū</i>	the act of selling
<i>tin-gr-adū</i>	the act of eating
<i>pali-kr-adū</i>	the act of splitting

3. 14. Conditional

Conditional is shown by the form *-ige*. It occurs after the past tense marker

<i>va-nt-ige</i>	if (one) comes
<i>maga vantige nippikra kudugu</i>	If rain comes the umbrella protects
<i>po : -n-ige</i>	If some one goes
<i>ninga po : nige nanga varumho :</i>	If you go we will come.

3. 15. Stem Alternants

go

{*po :*} ∞ *po :/o : ka :*, ∞ *o : g-*

∞ *o : g* occurs before future tense when followed by singular:

o : g-um will go

∞ *po :* has unconditional free variation with the forms *o :-* and *ko :-*. The initial stop *p* becomes *k* (velarization) and in the other form *p* is lost or realized as zero. Initial *p* becomes *k* in a few words in Yerukala.

'Police man' is *ko : karu*

4. ADJECTIVES

Adjectives are those forms which qualify the following nouns. Adjectives are classified according to their morphological structure. There are three types of adjectives namely (i) simple adjectives which are not derived, (ii) derived adjectives and (iii) numeral adjectives.

(i) Simple adjectives

Simple adjective consists of single morpheme in its structure.

<i>utticce</i>	bad
<i>olla</i>	good
<i>pudu</i>	new
<i>periya</i>	big
<i>bera</i>	big
<i>seḍḍa</i>	bad
<i>keṭṭa</i>	bad
<i>nalla</i>	good, fine
<i>godḍu</i>	sterile
<i>paṅga</i>	old
<i>pudū</i>	new
<i>minni</i>	first

<i>sinna</i>	small
<i>sanna</i>	that
<i>matta</i>	many
<i>kocco : ṇḍü</i>	few
<i>pacca</i>	green
<i>ni : lom</i>	blue
<i>karüppü</i>	black
<i>vella</i>	white

(ii) Derived Adjectives

Adjectives are derived by adding the suffix *-a : na* to certain noun stems.

eg. <i>osaram</i>	height
<i>osaram-a : na</i>	high
<i>mo : som</i>	badness
<i>mo : som-a : na</i>	bad
<i>akalom</i>	broadness
<i>akalom-a : na</i>	broad

(iii) Numeral Adjectives

Cardinal numbers are used as numeral adjectives. They are ordinals where *-a : vadü* occurs as derivative suffix converting the cardinals into ordinals.

eg. <i>uṇḍü manüšö</i>	one person
<i>roṇḍü kerüvü</i>	two boys
<i>roṇḍ-a : vadü kerüvu</i>	second boy
<i>mu : ḍü kaṭṭü</i>	three bundles
<i>pottü ä : vlike : rü</i>	ten men
<i>pott-a : vadü kerüvü</i>	tenth boy

5. ADVERBS

Adverbs are those forms which can modify the following verbs. Adverbs can be classified into two groups on the basis of their morphological structure viz. (i) simple adverbs, (ii) derived adverbs and (iii) temporal adverbs.

(i) Simple adverbs

All those mono-morphemic and inherent adverbs are called ‘simple adverbs.’

<i>gama : nü</i>	quickly
<i>kabakaba : nü</i>	quickly/very quickly
<i>biribiruṇḍü</i>	quickly
<i>ro : t ro : t</i>	a little

The form *gama : nü* varies freely with *kaba : nü* which in turn has partial reduplication as intensifier as *kabakaba : nü*.

<i>ekke</i>	high
<i>takkava : si/takke</i>	less
<i>pakke</i>	side
<i>argat</i>	whole
<i>si : kkam</i>	quickly
<i>inke</i>	some more
<i>ro : t</i>	a little
<i>ro : tte</i>	a little

(ii) Derived adverbs

Derived adverbs are those which are derived by adding the suffixes *-ga*, either to the noun stems or to the demonstrative and interrogative bases and *va : si*

Adverbial suffix

-ga is the adverbial suffix added to certain noun stems.

<i>erran -ga</i>	red
<i>karran -ga</i>	black
<i>jaman -ga</i>	good
<i>sannan -ga</i>	thin
<i>sari -ga</i>	right
<i>suttan -ga</i>	clean
<i>nallan -ga</i>	good
<i>nissan -ga</i>	truly
<i>-va : si</i>	
<i>takka -va : si</i>	less

(iii) Temporal adverbs

It is to be noted that some of the temporal adverbs have the dative suffix or the noun is declined in dative case.

<i>ne : s</i>	yesterday
<i>talla : riki</i>	tomorrow
<i>marra : diki</i>	next day
<i>epdu</i>	when
<i>o : gra -pdu</i>	while some one goes

6. PARTICLES

Particles differ from nouns and verbs. They are incapable of taking case markers or tense markers. They can occur in sentences freely with or without certain clitics. Particles are classified into two types viz. (1) free particles and (2) bound particles.

Free Particles

Free Particles are those which can occur either freely in sentences or can occur with certain nouns or verbs.

<i>kam</i>	quiet
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Clitic of Quantity

<i>e - tne</i>	how many
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<i>e : -tru</i>	how many
-----------------	----------

Interrogative clitic

<i>e : -s</i>	who / whose
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<i>idi e : s kuṭṭi</i>	whose child is this ?
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Bound Particles

Bound particles in yerukala are - *patti* and - *a : tṭom*

7 VOCABULARY

-a-

<i>a</i>	he, she, it	<i>adi</i>	bottom
<i>akka</i>	elder sister	<i>aḏdi</i>	all
<i>akka : ma : ruga</i>	elder sisters	<i>aṇ̱u(igisu)</i>	to stick
<i>akke</i>	multiple marker	<i>aṇ̱tu</i>	to touch
<i>akkili</i>	that side	<i>adu</i>	to cook
<i>akka : yammili</i>	feast given by relatives	<i>atta atte</i>	aunt
<i>agiḍi / angidi</i>	shop	<i>adu</i>	it, he, she.
<i>agu</i>	to weep	<i>adri</i>	of it
<i>ogu</i>	to invite	<i>adru : pa : y</i>	half a rupee
<i>aguva</i>	weeping	<i>anu</i>	that side
<i>aggi</i>	fire	<i>anuma : nu</i>	evidence
<i>aggipeḍḍi</i>	match-box	<i>andilla</i>	nothing
<i>aggipulla</i>	match-stick	<i>andu</i>	that, because
<i>agle : ri</i>	broad	<i>annom</i>	elder brother
<i>ankamma</i>	name of a goddess	<i>apaka</i>	ladle
<i>ankiro : kku</i>	offering	<i>appa</i>	grand mother
<i>anju</i>	five	<i>ampanom</i>	sent
<i>aṭ̱ṭi</i>	till	<i>ampu</i>	to send
<i>aṭ̱ṭi</i>	shyness	<i>ampiḏi</i>	to send (perfect)
<i>aṭ̱ṭi</i>	there	<i>amma :</i>	mother
		<i>ammili</i>	gruel from Ragi

antu what ?
andipe : du evening
anakari there after
anne than
araka : le foot
araṭika : yi plantain
araki : palm
aravay sixty
aru to cut
artuḍū to cut (completive)
ardu half
argat plenty
aragat whole
argatte a little more
arndo : su sivered
ardu half

arsa : kkudu to growl
alle : sa : ru sold
allu to sell
alḷida : mrapu : vu lotus
aḷavaṭṭu habit
as his
asalda : ṭṭi good
asu : agu to invite
asku : ru their village
asle of them

aypo : to exhaust
ardu half
avriye : rukamma branch of a
 pipal tree

-a :-

a : that
a : kum to be
a : kku to cook
a : gasu : la happened
a : gum want
a : ṭa play
a : ṭṭukuṭṭi lamb
a : ḍu to play
a : ḍi name of a month

a : ḍu goat
a : diva : rom sunday
a : ma : nu that day
a : na elephant
a : napa : ṭṭa : ya : relatives
a : ni name of a month
a : ru river
a : ru six
a : ru who

a:ru to become cool
a:ra uḍu to dry
a:re thorn
a:la:vu to become
a:lo:cana thought
a:va a father
a:vaṇi name of a month
a:vṭimpu to yawn
a:vuṭṭi yawning

a:su became
a:y they
a:ya: elderly people
a:lci person
ā:vala kuṇṭom boy
ā:varga:ḍidi zebra
ā:voli / ā:vrū male
ā:vlige:ru males

-i-

ikudu is, are
iki to be
ikkili this side
igu here after
inke here after
iṭe here
iṭu place
iṭṭiki here
iḍa:ku to lay eggs
itsu to sell
inta these
inu this side
ine here
ipḍu now

ippū now
imma:n today
iru to be
iravattoṭṭu twenty-eight
iravattommadu twenty-nine
iravattoṇḍu twenty-one
iravatreṇḍu twenty two
iridi / iridi twenty
illa / ille no
isgutanta a kind of fish
isupari name of a fish
isumbo: to unload
istra:klu purasa leaves

-i :-

i : this
i : gu feather
i : sbarsa : mi Lord Siva
i : samarom date palm
i : sangallu toddy
i : ttabarlu date palm sticks
i : dlu date palm

i : pa : y this side
i : pu hip
i : nu to give birth to
i : ṇḍli rings on a stick
i : y to get down
i : va : ḍu this year

-u :-

ukku to sit
uga : di new year
unke still some more
ucci urine
uttu to wash (cloth)
uṭṭu paddy
uḍukku heat

uḍū lizard (wild)
uṇḍu one
uddulu black gram
uppu salt
uy to spit
urumu to growl like a pig
ullḍ name of a bird

u :

u : ru village
u : gu to support

u : du to blow
u : nu to hold in support

e

eku to climb
ekum will place
ekke high
ekke ukya : nu it will be too
much
egili outside
ekko : darle far off long dis-
tance
egusugu plenty
enkaṭe : sa : mi Sri Venka-
teswara
engili saliva
eccu to take
eṭṭa : ya : name of a sect
eḍa : kudu to lay eggs
eḍu to take
eḍuka to carry
eḍuki : left hand
eṇṇu mongoose
eṇṇuvu mongooses
eṇṇukanṇi net for crabs
eṇḍi silver
ettu to take
eddiri to get up
edir opposite

edirko : l a stick in the trap
edrommu chest
etsu took
edugusu grown up
edduga bulls
eddula bullocks
enabay eighty
enu ko : lu bamboo strip
eni rat
epḍu when
emiga bone
eyla : to take
ey to place
eyru : pa : y hundred rupees
eraka fingers
errageḍḍa tapiyoca tuber
erra red
ergiliva : lu Yerukalas
ersi rice
ela leaf
elakokka tobacco
ela : kku betel leaves
eluguḍḍu bear
elli pa : yi edible roots

elli va : rakudu sun rising

eilu : ru a kite

evōklu bones

esarō anger

esō poison

e :

e : when

e : da : di year

e : tri a little

e : itu whose

e : da cold

e : pa : lu neem leaf

e : ma : ntukku to which
month

e : ncu to scold

e : tri something

e : du which

e : ri lake

e : liya : nu name of a bird.

e : do some one

e : niga elephant

e : lsu get up

o

ōki to kick

oga one

ogom sun shine

ongrom a ring

ose : ru tall

oṭṭanu eight annas

oṭṭu eight

oṭṭu to serve

oṭṭonde eight hundred

oḍiya : ra : to come running

oḍēvom body

oḍago : to get down

oḍi to break

oḍanni rice ganji

oḍso : ṭṭe to break

oṭṭi camel

oṇṇuma : nrupa : y one and
a half rupee

ottu to wash the cloth

oḍugu body

oḍuvu body

oṇṭigo : luga : di a granery

olava garment
olla white
olukku lamp
ole to grow
oluttuke : *re* to brought up
the children
olla guḍḍu egg yoke
ollom white
olukku light

0:

o: ɖu to pour, to put
 o: ɖu to run
 o: ttuko: lu walking stick
 o: laɣa sword fish
 o: le: ru kuɽɽi small child
 o: le leaf, sheet
 o: rankurru village Yerukala
 o: ru/ɐ: ru village
 o: kkare going
 o: li bride price

<i>ka:kka:/ ka:kya:/ ka:kke</i>	<i>kili</i>	pollution
crow	<i>ki:</i>	hand
<i>ka:su</i>	<i>ki:ta</i>	plaited leaf
<i>ka:siva:r</i>	<i>ki:lu</i>	wrist
to feed the relatives	<i>ki:</i>	hand
<i>ka:ttu pu:na</i>	<i>ki:kursō</i>	poor people
wild cat	<i>ki:yo:ttu</i>	below
<i>ka:ttu parri</i>	<i>ki:ttutko!ō</i>	low caste
wild pig	<i>kun!ō:</i>	kumkum
<i>ka:ttige</i>	<i>kuccu</i>	to pierce
collurium	<i>ku:ju</i>	to wash
<i>ka:du</i>	<i>kunju</i>	coin
forest	<i>kuṭṭi</i>	short
<i>ka:nango: yi</i>	<i>kuṭṭi</i>	girl
Jungle fowl	<i>kuṭṭi</i>	pups
<i>ka:y</i>	<i>kuṭṭi kuḍukradu</i>	to give the girl in marriage
unripened fruit		
<i>ka:yō</i>	<i>kuṭṭi vankiradu</i>	to accept the girl's hand
wound		
<i>ka:yangā</i>	<i>kuḍi</i>	to drink
surely	<i>kuḍippi</i>	to cause to drink
<i>ka:ydaṅga</i>	<i>kuḍu</i>	to give
papers	<i>kuḍuṣontala</i>	gave
<i>ka:rla:ḍi</i>	<i>kuttu</i>	to pound/to cut the pig
a kind of bird		
<i>ka:l</i>	<i>kutsilu</i>	gown
leg	<i>kudirsu</i>	to settle
<i>ka:legi</i>		
narrow		
<i>ka:va:ḍi</i>		
name of a sect		
<i>ka:vḍikunji</i>		
name of a bird		
<i>ka:vli ka:ḍi</i>		
watch woman		
<i>ka:vli ka:nā</i>		
watch man		
<i>ka:rla:ḍi/ū</i>		
name of a bird		
<i>ka:lasi</i>		
to quarrel with		
<i>ka:luga</i>		
legs		
<i>ka:lava</i>		
canal		
<i>ka:lupa:ḍi</i>		
a sect		
<i>ka:va:ḍnu</i>		
name of a sect		
<i>kiya:</i>		
hands		

<i>kunde : li</i>	rabit	<i>kettu</i>	to crow
<i>kuppoḍu</i>	to call	<i>keppu</i>	ant
<i>kumaḍka : yi</i>	pumbkin	<i>kera : di</i>	an insect
<i>kumpu</i>	crowd	<i>keruvu</i>	boy
<i>kuripi</i>	cause to stick	<i>kerukuṭṭi</i>	female child
<i>kurru</i>	Yerukalas	<i>kersna : l</i>	kerosine
<i>kurrom</i>	horse	<i>kevvu</i>	to wash the plate, hand etc.
<i>kurro : dū</i>	to beat	<i>keṇuntukku</i>	in the neck
<i>kurji</i>	chair	<i>ke : di</i>	ass
<i>kulavḍ</i>	koravaman	<i>ke : debeṭṭi kettiya : lḍ</i>	an animal
<i>kulci</i>	korava woman	<i>ke : payma : ru</i>	old man
<i>kula : ndri</i>	koravas	<i>ke : payḍ</i>	old man
<i>ku : di</i>	female genitals	<i>ke : mba</i>	old woman
<i>ku : pḍu</i>	to invite	<i>ke : ru</i>	to hear
<i>ku : rcu</i>	to add	<i>ke : vuri</i>	ragi
<i>ku : lika : dsi</i>	wage earner (fem.)	<i>kokku</i>	crane
<i>ku : li ka : na</i>	labourer (man)	<i>kangū</i>	to buy
<i>kegom</i>	nail	<i>koṭṭa : ya u : dū</i>	hut
<i>keccu</i>	to learn	<i>koḍu</i>	to give
<i>keṭṭa</i>	near	<i>koḍugu</i>	umbrella
<i>keṭṭo : s</i>	rotten	<i>koḍuttu va :</i>	to give
<i>keṭṭu</i>	to tie	<i>koḍsi</i>	short
<i>keṭṭaga</i>	near	<i>koṇḍu va :</i>	to bring
<i>keṭṭu ga : lu</i>	hoofs	<i>kottu</i>	to pierce
<i>keṇṭa</i>	time	<i>koppū</i>	tuft
<i>keṇṭi</i>	waterpot for child	<i>konte nakka</i>	small fox
<i>kettiya : l</i>	a bird		

kənsu to cut
kəmmuɡa horns
koy to cut
kərami : n a fish
kola va : te korava speech
kolavə korava man
koli va : du black-smith
kolivi black-smith
koləm korava
kolusu to worship
kolla field
koluvina : yi carpenter
kolli knife
ko : pə : ə : to go

ko : ka saree
ko : galukuncu chicken
ko : tu to put
ko : tti monkey
ko : ttaḍu to call a person
ko : itu to crow (hen)
ko : trom Gothra
ko : y / ko : yi hen
ko : gunsuga chicken
ko : y muṭṭa eggs
ko : lu sticks
ko : l karu police man
ko : l kanḍ police man
ky : e da : donkey

-g-

gajja bells
gaba : mu / gamanu quickly
gavnsu to look after
ga : di grain storing basket
ga : li wind
ga : li devil
ga : li paṭṭḍ kite
ga : j bangle
giḍu giḍu quickly
ginni cup like plate
gudi temple
guddi ya : mu a kind of bird
gunṭa pit or grave

gunṭṭe in the heart
gunḍa pot
gunḍi chest
gunḍu emuga knee bone
guddu to beat
guddulu ponga a bunch of fruits
gu : ṭṭu baṇḍi covered cart
gu : du cage
gu : ve owl
gedḍi grass
gedḍā : a bird

geddō chin
geṇṭi spoon
geṇḍu pakki a fish
gemmu to drive away
geraṭṭa manduḍu a name
geraṭṭa : lu brahminic kite
gela : branch
gōṭu neck
ge : dda : ass
geḍḷe pe : rō a bird
goḍu kammi iron rib of an
 umbrella
godḷu axe
gobri nu : ni coconut oil
gobryu sippa coconut shell

gonti neck
gontu throat
goragu to shave
gorapḍu korava
go : ni a sack
go ndru kappa big frog
go : de basket
go : ba : spice
go : ma : du wild cattle
go : ranki myna bird
go : ru nail
go : vdi youth
go : va : dyaṇ bride groom
go : va : ḍu korava man
go : va : dsi bride

-c-

carṭe jacket
c : appa mat
ca : lu enough
citri name of a month
ainna a little
cinna : ya children/girls
cinna : liga uvula
cilaka parrot
ci : ni kunju name of a bird
coccu to do

cemdi ka : ki sheep
ceppu to tell
ceyyiccu cause to do
celligum to sprinkle
ce : ndu ka : ṭṭiru to do, to
 join
cokka : y shirt
coguru to smoothen
combu : ru peasant crow

sa : klepangiḍi washerwoman

sa : tpa : ḍi name of a sect

sa : na : enough

sa : (p) mat

sa : rju fare

sa : lukku year

sikkam quick

sikkāsu to catch

sikanga small

sikḍika : yi soapnut

siṭṭuseraga house sparrow

sitti : sango : lu date palm
sticks

sinnai ge : ru small boys

sinnanga slowly

sinema : cinema

sinna : mma : maternal aunt

sinna : va father's brother

sinne small

sippi a small woven plate

siri to laugh

sirsa : gam head

sirna : liga uvula

silavom cinema

si : kaṭṭi/se : kaṭṭi darkness

si : ttu to blow the nose

si : ma : ḍu sheep

si : mapura : pigeon

si : vḍi phlem

si : v pus

sukke star

sukrava : rom friday

suṭṭu rounds

suḍu to burn

suttu to role

suttangu neatly

sunṇḍ lime

subra : yaḍu Subrahmanya
deity

su : pu to show

sekke to be available

senku conch

seḍi plant

seḍḍa bad

seṭṭo : su died

senikaḷ : y/lu groundnuts

semmḍ lion

seruppi cause to sharpen

serukku small

seruga ears

seruṇḍi two baskets

sertu cheeta

seraga water-fowl

seruppuga chappals

selikke waste land

selli to observe

se: t̥t̥a winnow
se: ndugo: to get married
se: ru to join, to reach, to
 unite
sokka: yi shirt
sogidi a name
sonnu to say, to tell

sonla please tell boy
soy ear
sova: som friends
so: ru rice
soraki: right hand
so: mava: rom Monday
so: lom maize

d

renga: mat̥te coconut leaves
t̥enga: marom coconut tree
t̥enga: yi coconut

dabbay seventy
dabba: tin
dama: rom drum

t

takke less
takke ukya: nu will be less
tangasi younger sister
tanta worship with folded
 hands
tat̥te sticks for basket weaving
tat̥tu cloth
tat̥lu baskets
tan̥üttu to obey
tanni water
tanniva: ttugo to bathe
tanu to get
tappu wrong

tarambra: lu holy rice
tala head
talaka: y head
talagud̥ḍa turban
talaja: m̥ḍ early morning
talabad̥ḍa cloth for turban
talamogru hair
talla: ri tomorrow
ta: to give
ta: t̥t̥imarom palmyra tree
ta: t̥t̥e tali
ta: pom father

<i>ta:mbe:li</i>	tortoise	<i>tu:mulu</i>	a measure
<i>ta:yattō</i>	arm bound with silver	<i>tekkar</i>	thieves
<i>ta:ri</i>	path	<i>tegiri</i>	sharp
<i>ta:li</i>	marriage badge	<i>tengnika:ya</i>	coconut
<i>tiṇḍla:</i>	to eat	<i>tenna:ra:</i>	crane
<i>tinta</i>	death ceremony	<i>teppiki</i>	gruel
<i>tippi</i>	to turn back	<i>tembi</i>	younger brother
<i>tippu</i>	to turn	<i>tellegadde</i>	tapiyoca
<i>tinta</i>	pollution	<i>te:lu</i>	scorpion
<i>tinnu</i>	to eat	<i>toḍa</i>	thigh
<i>tippu</i>	to wander	<i>toḍappom</i>	broom
<i>timbi</i>	to cause to eat	<i>tombay</i>	granary
<i>tiramalu</i>	turning	<i>tolsu:r</i>	pregnancy
<i>tirri</i>	to go round	<i>tolsu:rmansi</i>	pregnant woman
<i>ti:gili</i>	below	<i>to:ga</i>	tail
<i>ti:ṭṭu</i>	to sharpen	<i>toḍaguddi</i>	calf
<i>ti:r</i>	to terminate, to end	<i>to:ye</i>	to wash
<i>tubṭi</i>	shawl	<i>to:ga:</i>	to crawl
<i>tuma:la:</i>	towel	<i>to:se</i>	rice dish
<i>tu:kkubuṭṭi</i>	basket	<i>to:ṇṭa</i>	camilion
		<i>to:mu</i>	to brush

d

<i>dabba</i>	bamboo	<i>dinamum</i>	daily
<i>dabbala:ya kuru</i>	name of a sect	<i>dune</i>	young one of a bird
<i>daṇḍa:</i>	beeds	<i>dubṭi</i>	coarse cloth
<i>daniga</i>	coriander	<i>depi</i>	gruel
<i>dara</i>	money	<i>debba</i>	distance
<i>da:sra:ya:</i>	name of a person	<i>de:vru</i>	god
		<i>de:ṽlom</i>	a temple

n

nakka fox
nakku to lick
nakkalava : la : Koravas
nanga sister-in-law
nange we
nanga : ya : our people
naḍa to walk
naḍu central
nadudugo : l ga : di
 centre part of date palm stick
naḍuppe : lu central finger
naddi river
nane to get wet
nanso : su got wet
nambru we
nanḍ nerve
nalla good
nalaka good manner.
nalakale not good
nalagu anointing ceremony
nalabay forty
nalupu black
nallanci good
nallensa being good
na : my
na : ga pa : mbu cobra

na : ḍu country
na : ḍutirra kuṛu wandering
 Yerukala
na : nu I
na : yi dog
na : vattu ko : yi turkey bird
na : ve : ru night
na : laṇa : four annas
na : liga tongue
na : lu day
na : va : ri night
nikke to stand (infi.)
ninge you (pl.)
nippi to cause to stop
nisse fat
nimma ka : y lemon
niluvu stem of a basket
niru to stand
nirruve remaining
ni : / mi : nu you (sg.)
ni : lna : ra : grey crane
nu : ni oil
nu : ru hundred
nacci fore-head
nessḍ truth
neḍu back-bone

<i>paṛi</i>	pig	<i>pidi</i>	to catch
<i>parri kunnō</i>	young one of a pig	<i>piḍsuko : s</i>	to become numb
<i>parinsu</i>	born	<i>pidikkū</i>	to divide
<i>parvaṭṭe</i>	near by	<i>piṇṭi</i>	flour
<i>parna : yi</i>	Harijan	<i>piṇṭi talaka : y</i>	lamp on the flour as offerings
<i>paṛapangiḍi</i>	Harijan woman	<i>pitsu</i>	to pluck
<i>palaka</i>	drum	<i>pirkaḍidi</i>	to divide
<i>palu</i>	to split	<i>pirka : rom</i>	in that manner
<i>paltu</i>	to cut, to split into	<i>pilaṅga : ya</i>	tamarind
<i>palsō</i>	smooth	<i>pille : lu</i>	small finger
<i>pa : ṭṭe</i>	song	<i>pisigi</i>	sparrow
<i>pa : ḍi</i>	liver	<i>pi : s</i>	leaf of date palm tree
<i>pa : nō</i>	sin	<i>pi : skunju</i>	a kind of mat
<i>pa : ppa</i>	eye ball	<i>pukapa : kdu</i>	to yawn
<i>pa : y</i>	side	<i>puga : kū</i>	to quarrel
<i>pa : y</i>	mat	<i>pugu</i>	to lie down
<i>pa : rū</i>	to run	<i>pugula</i>	without falling
<i>pa : ru</i>	to see	<i>puṭṭu</i>	a basket
<i>pa : lakannom</i>	an animal	<i>puḍsu</i>	to catch
<i>pa : lū</i>	milk	<i>puduḍi</i>	new/big
<i>pa : vra : y</i>	dove	<i>purraṅgi : ka : lu</i>	left leg
<i>pa : vlu</i>	four annas	<i>puruḷu</i>	pollution
<i>picci</i>	mad	<i>pulugupu : na</i>	musk cat
<i>piccina : y</i>	mad dog	<i>pulsu</i>	sauce
<i>piccu</i>	to divide	<i>pu : su/pu : tsu</i>	to smear
<i>pitska :</i>	plucking	<i>pu : na</i>	cat
<i>piṭṭi</i>	basket	<i>pu : nemarō</i>	cat-trap/mongoose trap

<i>pu:ntsu</i>	to enter	<i>pel ka:yi</i>	Jack fruit
<i>puriya:ḍi</i>	an animal	<i>pe:ka</i>	intestine
<i>pu:lramma/po:le:ramma</i>	name of a goddess	<i>pe:ṭṭa</i>	table / chair
<i>pu:l</i>	flower	<i>pe:tti</i>	grand daughter
<i>pu:likra a:ya:</i>	flower girl	<i>pe:ttiṭṭ</i>	grand son
<i>pekla:ku</i>	to catch	<i>pe:r</i>	name
<i>peccu</i>	to turn	<i>pe:ru</i>	person
<i>peṇṭe</i>	female	<i>po:ga:rom</i>	according to
<i>pedū</i>	lips	<i>poga:lu</i>	tobacco
<i>pesa:su</i>	devil	<i>pogudu</i>	sun
<i>pesi</i>	hunger	<i>poguru</i>	anger
<i>pesla</i>	to mix	<i>poṭṭū</i>	tilak
<i>peṇṇe ka:ḍle</i>	twilight	<i>poṭṭe ko:yi</i>	hen
<i>penma:ra:</i>	large stark	<i>poṭṭe na:yi</i>	bitch
<i>pey</i>	to rain	<i>poṭṭe nevili</i>	pea-hen
<i>pela pa:gom</i>	tamarind-fruit	<i>poṭṭe ma:ḍu</i>	cow
<i>peru magū</i>	eldest son	<i>poṭ ne:lu</i>	thumb
<i>perra:lu</i>	big person	<i>poṇḍu / moṇḍu</i>	wife
<i>perugampa</i>	big basket	<i>poṇḍuma:ruga</i>	wives
<i>per karde</i>	an animal	<i>pottu</i>	ten
<i>perku</i>	to pick-up	<i>pottu nu:ru</i>	thousand
<i>pergo:ṭṭu</i>	after	<i>podu nō:gu</i>	seventeen
<i>PELLI kodukku:ḍu</i>	house of the bride groom	<i>poraḍu</i>	pollution
<i>pellu</i>	tooth	<i>pordu:ḍu</i>	house where one is born
<i>PELLUGA</i>	teeth	<i>pordu:ṭṭuma:lu</i>	bride price
		<i>porṭ ki:</i>	left hand

<i>pokkū</i> to break	<i>po:du</i> to serve
<i>po:</i> to go	<i>po:it̪e:li</i> she-goat
<i>po:ga:nu</i> should go	<i>po:dum̪o:</i> to get trapped
<i>po:gi paṇḍa</i> name of a festival	<i>po:t̪i ke:de</i> pack-ass
<i>po:ttu</i> male	<i>po:ttu na:y</i> hound
<i>po:ttu koḷḷ</i> high caste	<i>po:le</i> flowers
<i>po:dsu</i> to kill/pierce	<i>po:le:ramma:</i> name of a goddess

-b-

<i>baṭṭa</i>	cloth	<i>bedava</i>	uncle
<i>baṇḍi</i>	cart	<i>bellu</i>	bow
<i>bale</i>	very	<i>beḷaba : yi</i>	myna bird
<i>ba : ki</i>	balance	<i>beṇḍaka : yi</i>	ladies finger/okra
<i>ba : ga :</i>	good	<i>bego :</i>	share
<i>ba . sa :</i>	language	<i>beṇḍuko : lu</i>	curved sticks
<i>ba : ḍi</i>	banyan	<i>be : sṭava : rom</i>	Thursday
<i>bindi</i>	pot	<i>be : raga : ru</i>	salt selling koravas
<i>birri</i>	quickly	<i>bakka</i>	cheek
<i>bi : t</i>	fear	<i>bakkalu</i>	hole
<i>ba : tuko : yi</i>	duck	<i>baṭṭa bodḍa</i>	basket
<i>ba : y</i>	a well	<i>boḷḷu</i>	holy badge of black beed
<i>ba : lyḍ</i>	child	<i>bodḍe</i>	naval cord
<i>bi : som</i>	rice	<i>boddu</i>	bark
<i>bi : raka : yi</i>	a kind of gourd	<i>bo : duguṇḍa</i>	bald head/ shaven head
<i>buduva : rom</i>	wednesday	<i>bo : lra : mu</i>	name of a god
<i>bu : du</i>	to lie down		
<i>bedirunsu</i>	to look after		

m

<i>makiri</i>	cage	<i>marde</i>	medicine
<i>makka ma : rüga</i>	childr. n	<i>marra : di</i>	next day
<i>maga</i>	daughter	<i>marya : de</i>	gift
<i>maga</i>	rain	<i>marom</i>	tree
<i>magine</i>	son	<i>mala ka : y</i>	chillies
<i>magile</i>	daughter	<i>malli</i>	again
<i>magü</i>	son	<i>ma : ttu kuṭṭi</i>	calf
<i>mangal na : yi</i>	barber	<i>ma : du</i>	cattle
<i>munga la me : lom</i>	holy bands and pipe	<i>ma : digi na : yi</i>	Man of madaga caste
<i>mang la var : om</i>	Tuesday	<i>ma : dō</i>	month
<i>macca : da :</i>	uncle	<i>ma : nü</i>	day
<i>majika</i>	butter milk	<i>ma : vaḍi marō</i>	mango tree
<i>manjalu</i>	yellow	<i>ma : vā :</i>	uncle
<i>manūṣon</i>	man	<i>mā : vra : ya :</i>	father-in-law
<i>madsō</i>	man	<i>ma : si</i>	dirty
<i>maṇṭu</i>	to burn	<i>ma : si ma : dō</i>	name of a month
<i>matya : nom</i>	noon	<i>ma : num</i>	want
<i>mana : gom</i>	husband	<i>na : na :</i>	don't want
<i>maṇḍe : kudu</i>	pains	<i>mikka</i>	to step on
<i>manmu</i>	earth	<i>miḍu</i>	back
<i>mantra sa : ni</i>	midwife	<i>miduvu</i>	heel
<i>mayil buṭṭi</i>	a kind of a basket	<i>minni</i>	before
<i>marteṇi</i>	squirrel	<i>minni magü</i>	first son
<i>marci : mbru</i>	peasant crow	<i>mintsu</i>	toe ring
<i>maritu pu : na :</i>	tree cat	<i>minne : lu</i>	index finger

<i>me: na pa: dru</i>	name of a sect	<i>moguru</i>	hair
<i>me: na: ma: tri</i>	aeroplane	<i>mogō</i>	face
<i>me: ʃa</i>	big	<i>moḍsulu</i>	people / males
<i>me: ṇdra gutti</i>	a sect of Yeru-	<i>moddu</i>	to hit
	kala	<i>moccu</i>	to beat with fist
<i>me: nate</i>	father's sister	<i>mottu</i>	to break
<i>me: niṇu</i>	above / upper	<i>moṇḍu</i>	wife
<i>me: na pa: di</i>	a sect of Yeru-	<i>monta</i>	a small pot
	kala	<i>mobbu</i>	cloud
<i>me: ne</i>	above / on	<i>mora ka: kudu</i>	to bark
<i>me: sō</i>	mustach	<i>mose ko: tti</i>	ape
<i>me: lu</i>	mail train	<i>mo: ka: lu</i>	leg below the knee
<i>moṇḍi pu: das</i>	to get blunt	<i>mo: ka: lu cippa</i>	knee
<i>mogili pu: ru</i>	screw pine	<i>mo: ga: lu</i>	to send back
	flower	<i>mo: re</i>	cubit

y

<i>yamme</i>	my mother	<i>ya: baṇy</i>	fifty
<i>ya: ppa marom</i>	neem tree	<i>ya: ba: rom</i>	business

r

<i>rayka</i>	jacket	<i>raylu baṇḍi</i>	train
<i>ra: s / ra: y</i>	to write	<i>ra: va silakka</i>	parrot
<i>ra: ynci</i>	cause to write	<i>ra: su</i>	to write
<i>regom</i>	blood	<i>ra: su kade</i>	write
<i>rampō</i>	saw	<i>rikusa</i>	Rickshaw

rekke wings
reṭṭe shoulder
reṇḍu / roṇḍu two
reṇḍe:ru two persons
ronje:pu a little time
roṇḍonde two hundred

rommuga breasts
ro:kku bride price
ro:ju daily
ro:ṭṭḍ bread
ro:tte a little
ro:t ro:t a little

I

likḍu kunju name of a bird
la:ndra lantern
lu:ri lorry

likkiḍi name of a bird
lekka money / account

V

vakka aricanut
vaga sunshine
vaṇkṇi to buy
vankiko: to buy (Ref.)
vanka:ya brinjal
vancū to drain
vancu to bend
vanaka then, after
vaṇṭi camel
vayya:si name of a month
vara:n three and a half rupee

vardappa sticks
varse gifts
vale net
valla:gom big person
valli ke:du playing (present)
vaḷakre to raise / to grow
vavva:yi bat
va:ṭṭe / ka:lom year
va:tta ga:kudu bathes
va:ppi cause to pour
va:stu to talk

va:stradu talking

va:y mouth

va:yda: fixed time

va:r to pour

va:rom week or day

va:la: to come

veṇḍi kaḍiyṇ silver bangle

vorra mortar

venkaṭe: saḍu Sri Venkates-
wara

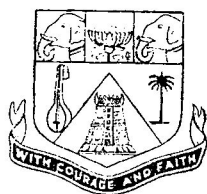
ve:re garru salt selling koravas



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